



Israel Goldblatt
Building Bridges
Namibian Nationalists
Clemens Kapuuu
Hosea Kutako
Brendan Simbwaye
Samuel Witbooi

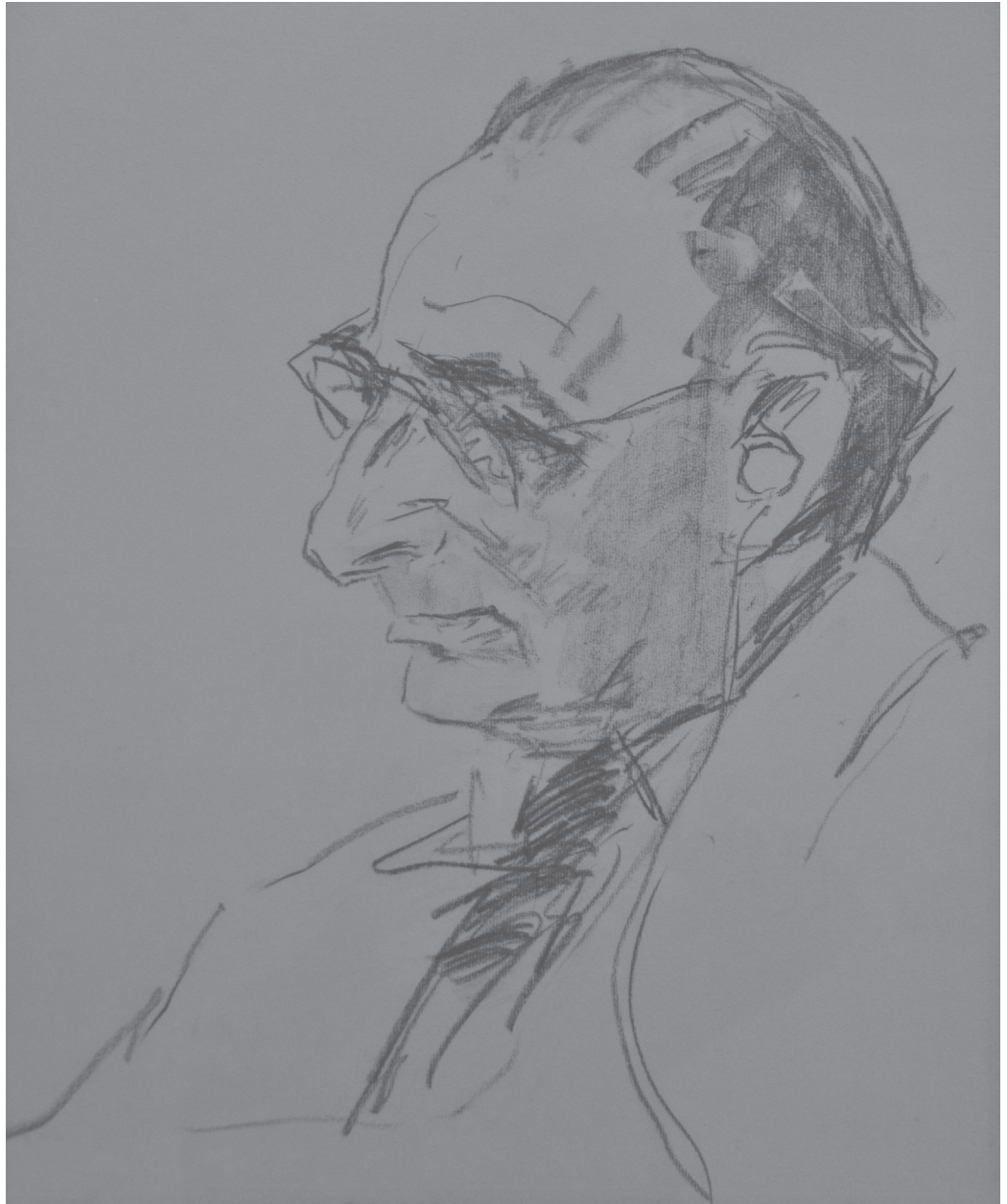
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Israel Goldblatt
Building Bridges



*Israel Goldblatt as sketched
with charcoal by Fritz
Krampe (1913–1966), an
acclaimed artist who lived
in Windhoek since 1951*





ISRAEL GOLDBLATT

Building Bridges

Namibian Nationalists Clemens Kapuuo, Hosea Kutako, Brendan Simbwaye, Samuel Witbooi

Edited by Dag Henrichsen, Naomi Jacobson & Karen Marshall

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Basler Afrika Bibliographien
2010

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LEGACIES
LEGENDS

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CH-4001 Basel
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www.baslerafrika.ch

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Cover photograph:

Israel Goldblatt at the funeral of Chief Hosea Kutako on Sunday 28 July 1970 in Okahandja. He and his daughter Karen Blum–Marshall and her husband Werner Blum were among the hundreds of African mourners. Israel Goldblatt is standing behind Clemens Kapuuu (front, third from the left) and Rev. Bartholomews Karuaera (front, second from the left). Other members of the Herero Chief's Council include Asser Kapere (far left, next to Rev Karuaera) and Rehabeam Uazukuani (to the right of Clemens Kapuuu). From the photo collection of Karen Marshall.

Layout by Petra Kerckhoff

Printed by John Meinert Printing (PTY) Ltd., Windhoek, Namibia

ISBN 978-3-905758-16-0

ISSN 1660-9638

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Who was Israel Goldblatt?

An Introduction

All his life Israel Goldblatt wrote notes on subjects he was interested in at the time, or in relation to something he had just read or that he was thinking about. The notes might be made on the back of tissue boxes, or on scraps of paper. One file exists, entitled "Random Thoughts", which covers an amazing array of comments on or extracts about various subjects, including poems read, or verses he made up, written on "random" pieces of paper! At other times he would make notes in the margin of books he was reading or studying.

This book publishes his notes and other related documents that he wrote in relation to his encounters and conversations during the 1960s with some prominent and some more humble black Namibians. When these documents were found some years ago, we realised that students of 20th-century Namibian history, and other interested readers, might value the content of these various texts written by a man who had the foresight to record his dealings with and observations of those Namibians he was fortunate to have met, and to have been able to help. Israel Goldblatt was one of the very few white men at the time to whom they regularly turned for advice, legal and otherwise, and with whom they enjoyed a unique relationship of mutual respect and trust.

Who was our father? Here we introduce Israel Goldblatt in the context of his family and professional life, in order to provide the personal context and the motivation behind the notes and documents published here.

Family History

Israel Goldblatt was the fourth child of David and his wife Fanny Esther Goodsmith. He was born on 5 June 1897, in London, as were his siblings, the eldest of whom was Sarah, followed by another sister Rebecca and a brother, Reuben.

His father, David Goldblatt, was born in Radom (Poland) in 1866. In 1889, he and his wife Fanny Esther arrived in London, where they lived for 7 years and opened a bookshop for "International books". Fanny, a woman of strong character and ability, was largely responsible for managing the bookshop, while David spent a good deal of time in the British Museum library, acquiring knowledge in many fields. It was in London that he conceived the idea of a Yiddish encyclopaedia.¹

In 1896, David Goldblatt took a steamship to Cape Town, having in mind as his ultimate destination, the United States, where there was a large influx of Jews at the end of the 19th century fleeing the pogroms of Eastern Europe. However, when he disembarked in Cape Town, the boat, through some mistake on his part, continued on its voyage without him, so he remained there. He was followed by his family, on 21 September 1897, and they opened a bookshop in Long Street. When this burned down, through an accident, they moved to District Six, the Jewish Quarter.

Goldblatt had a deep interest in the welfare of the Yiddish-speaking immigrants, was an ardent supporter of Yiddish and a champion for its use, and founded a second Yiddish newspaper in

the Cape, *Der Yiddisher Advokaat*. This publication ran from 1904 to 1914, as a Yiddish weekly. The entire family assisted in its production and distribution. He also imported the first Yiddish linotype machine in the country to print the paper. For a very short period too, during the Anglo-Boer War, Goldblatt brought out the first daily Jewish newspaper ever published in South Africa, *Der Kriegstaffet*, the purpose of which was to provide Yiddish-speaking immigrants with news of the war's progress.² In 1903 and 1904, Goldblatt took the initiative in forming and led, together with Morris Alexander, a delegation to the Cape Parliament, which succeeded in having Yiddish recognized as a "European Language" in terms of the requirements of the Cape Immigration Restrictions Act 1902.³

The home in Cape Town was not a warm one. David Goldblatt was a disciplinarian, showing little or no interest in his family. His passion was his books, and his dream was to produce a Yiddish encyclopaedia. Goldblatt always felt that his path lay in America, where, he believed, the cause of Yiddish could best be promoted. He thus abandoned his family, and in November 1915 arrived in London, before finally making his way to New York, where he lived until his death in 1945.

There is a very poignant photograph of Israel standing on the quay at Cape Town harbour when his father left. None of the other members of the family came to see "the old man" off and none of them were ever to hear from him again, except for Israel, who made contact with his father in 1932, after which they carried on a regular correspondence until David's death from cancer. During those years, Israel also sent his father small amounts of money from his modest income.

In New York, David became associated with leading Yiddish journals, and ultimately published the first two volumes of *The Yiddish Encyclopaedia*, a project which was intended to be the first all-embracing universal encyclopaedia in the Yiddish language. He never completed more than those two volumes. He was also the author of two books: *Is the Jewish Race Pure?* (1933) and *The Jew and his Language Problem* (1943), which he dedicated to his son, Israel. It is perhaps amusing to note that in one of his later letters, David mentions that Adolf Hitler had enquired about a copy of one of his books. He wrote: "How would you like to know that Hitler ordered 9 copies of the English book. I demanded cash with order. The demand was complied with by an American representative."⁴

A series of letters to Israel from David's colleagues and friends in New York at the time of the latter's death indicate that he was very highly regarded in Jewish circles there. He left a library, the value of which was not easily determined, and Israel decided to donate it to the Yeshiva College of Washington Heights, New York.

After David's departure from Cape Town in 1915, Fanny was left with the children. The eldest three were already in employment, and all of them contributed to her care. Fanny looked after Sarah's house and was also an avid gardener. In later years she moved to Bloemfontein to live with her daughter Rebecca, until her death in 1952, but she spent a few months of each year with Israel and Janet Goldblatt in Windhoek.

Israel Goldblatt was just 3 months old when the family arrived in Cape Town. They were very poor. He tells the story that once his father went shopping at the Parade in Cape Town and came back very pleased with himself with a box of shoes which he had got cheaply — but they all turned out to be for left feet! The children apparently wore them.

Israel went to primary school in the "Deutsche Schule" in Queen Victoria Street, where the headmaster was Pastor Wagner. His father wished him to become proficient in German, the international language of scholarship. As a result Israel spoke the language fluently and read widely in that medium. This attribute stood him in good stead in later years, when he moved to the then South West Africa (SWA), previously Deutsch Südwest Afrika. Pastor Wagner played a very influential role in the young Israel's life, and he became friends with the daughter, Irmela, who subsequently married a Dr Lübbert who played a very prominent role in South West African affairs. Israel went on to attend the Normal College (re-established by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1878, and which later amalgamated with the S.A. College). His sisters and brother all contributed towards his education. His sister Sarah had left home to join the newspaper *Het Zuid-Western* in Oudtshoorn, and subsequently went on to become a highly acclaimed teacher and the private secretary (and later Literary Executrix) of C.J. Langenhoven, poet, writer and advocate, known as the Father of Afrikaans. Rebecca worked in an office and was associated with the South African Broadcasting Association. Reuben was a mechanic.

Israel showed himself to be a bright student. He recounted the story of his father's disappointment when he examined the list of successful matriculants in the Second Class, and failed to find his son's name. Israel obtained a First Class Pass.

After matriculating, Israel went on to the University of the Cape of Good Hope, the forerunner to the University of South Africa, where he obtained his BA degree in 1915 at the age of 18 and then started his preliminary LL.B. studies. Early in 1918, just after the end of World War I, he travelled to SWA which had been occupied by South African forces since 1915, and joined the staff of the Crown Prosecutor in the capital Windhoek. In October, he returned to Cape Town and completed his LL.B. degree later that year through the University of South Africa. He was admitted as an advocate to the Cape Provincial Division on 1 August 1919.

After his admission to the Bar he was persuaded by R.P. Davis, a leading member of the Bar, and later to be elevated to the Bench, to start his practice in SWA. The territory had been a German colony since the 1880s until July 1915, with the surrender of the German forces to the South African forces under the command of General Louis Botha. All civil law was suspended and martial law was introduced. After the war, in 1920, under the auspices of the League of Nations, SWA became a C Class Mandate and was henceforth to be administered as an integral part of South Africa under the terms of the Mandatory Agreement.⁵ As a result, the Roman-Dutch legal system obtaining in South Africa was extended to the Territory, and to the extent that German law was in conflict with Roman-Dutch law, it ceased to exist. Martial law was abolished in 1921. Normal magistrate's courts were constituted, and a High Court was established.

The professional system which was introduced in SWA was that which applied in South Africa and which came from Britain, namely a two-tier system, with solicitors/attorneys on the one hand and barristers/advocates on the other. Only the latter had the right of audience in a High Court. Those practitioners who had practised in SWA during the German colonial period were given the option of remaining solicitors/attorneys, or of being admitted as advocates under the new system. Only one elected to go to the Bar, and he very soon changed his mind.⁶

The newly established High Court was opened on 6 January 1920 in the so-called Tintenpalast (Palace of Ink). The first person to be appointed was Judge Clemens Gutsche, who was German speaking. After the judge had been sworn in by the Administrator Howard Gorges, three advocates — Louis Oxley Pyemont Pyemont, Arnold Friedrich Weiss and Israel Goldblatt

— and 17 attorneys were admitted. Goldblatt was the sole official reporter of the reports of the High Court for 1920 and 1921, and joint reporter thereafter until 1940. He also acted in the early days as interpreter in German, and examiner for would-be interpreters in that language.⁷

A tremendous backlog of civil legal work had, of course, built up during the war years, and from a series of light and amusing articles written by Goldblatt for the South African Law Journal, one gets a glimpse of the stimulating challenges that practitioners at that time had to face.⁸ For the first 10 years, and apart from Adv. F.P. (Toon) van den Heever who was at the Bar from 1921 to 1926, Goldblatt was the only German-speaking advocate in SWA. This proficiency was invaluable since there were a great many civil cases involving German law waiting to be handled and decided.

Israel Goldblatt's career spanned a period of 50 years until his retirement in 1970 — except for a very brief period in 1929 when he thought of relocating to practise at the Bar in Cape Town, but quickly changed his mind and returned to SWA. During those early and exciting years, Goldblatt counted among his friends advocates and judges, most of whom were subsequently appointed to the Appellate Division in South Africa, including “Toon” van den Heever, Henry Fagan and Oscar Hoexter, to name some of the most eminent.

Family Life

Israel undoubtedly inherited his vast intellect from his father, but he was equally undoubtedly a much more compassionate human being and he took great pride in his family. He was also determined not to emulate the type of father his had been.

A short while after his arrival in Windhoek, he met Jenette Ida Cohen (commonly known as Janet), the daughter of the leader of the Jewish community. She was the third youngest child of ten children of Rev Mordecai Cohen and his wife, Sarah Rebecca (formerly Chesler). The Windhoek congregation and synagogue was founded on 31 August 1924, and seven days prior to that, Rev Cohen officiated at the marriage of his daughter to Israel Goldblatt.

They quickly entered into the pioneering and active social life of Windhoek. They were staunch members of the tennis club, and Israel taught his wife golf which they continued to play throughout their lives in SWA. They enjoyed bridge, which they played very well in a bridge-playing community which was quite strong. Israel also played chess very well and during the Second World War he played chess with persons overseas by correspondence. One can imagine how long it took for a game to be completed! In 1939, he won a trophy for being the Champion Correspondence Bridge Player in South Africa.

There is a delightful report of an event during the Second World War, when the police came to investigate suspicious mail which they had intercepted coming from and to Goldblatt in what they suspected was code, since these postcards contained only cryptic letters and numbers. They left with their tails between their legs when they discovered that these were bridge moves which Goldblatt was posting to and receiving from his chess opponent.

Goldblatt and van den Heever also owned race-horses. Goldblatt told the story of being stopped one day by the Head of the Police (there being no traffic officials at the time). The latter was about to charge them for riding "furiously" through the main street in contravention of the by-laws. But he decided not to do so, considering that they posed a greater danger to themselves than to the general public!



*Left:
The Goldblatt family at
the Windhoek train sta-
tion, late 1950s Lucian is
standing to the left of Janet
and Israel Goldblatt. In
the front, from left to right:
Naomi, Karen and Michal*

*Right:
Israel and Janet
Goldblatt at home in
Schwerinsburgweg,
Windhoek, early 1960s*

Janet Goldblatt quickly started to play a role in the charitable and social welfare life of the community and founded The Ladies Benevolent Society which, inter alia, ran an old-age home, named Werth Tehuis, after the then administrator. Later in her life, Janet also played a prominent role in Zionist affairs, becoming the chairlady of the Women's Zionist Organisation.

The couple raised four children: the eldest Naomi, who became an internationally recognised sculptor; Michal, who emigrated in 1968 with her family to Israel, where she carried on her Zionist activities; Lucian, who practised as an attorney in Windhoek and Swakopmund for many years, before moving to Johannesburg in 1976 to continue practising there; and Karen, who was admitted as an advocate in Windhoek in 1966, and later also moved to Johannesburg where she practised at the Bar for 16 years. Karen was the first woman to be admitted to the Bar in Namibia and to be appointed as an acting judge there and in the then Transvaal.

Legal Practice

In legal practice, there were junior advocates and senior advocates, the latter known as King's Counsel (KC, presently Senior Counsel), or also as "silks" by virtue of the material from which their gowns were made. In order to "take silk", one would apply to the judge (now judge president) of one's division and with the approval and support of one's colleagues at the Bar. The application was then considered and finally approved by the Minister of Justice. In 1934, at the age of 37, Israel Goldblatt came into his chambers one day to find that he had been appointed KC without any application on his own behalf. The application had been set in motion by his great friend and admirer, "Toon" van den Heever.

Israel Goldblatt fulfilled the role of KC as admirably and successfully as he had done as a junior, and from July 1935 to March 1936, he was appointed to act as a judge in the SWA

Division. "Toon" van den Heever was behind this appointment also. It was a well-recognised fact that Israel Goldblatt never participated in any party politics and was never a member of any political party. He was a man of fierce independence and integrity. This did not always find favour with the government, and since the then governing United Party was not satisfied that he was a true United Party supporter, they failed to appoint him to the Bench permanently. Again, when the Nationalist Party took over the government in South Africa in 1948, it was felt that Israel Goldblatt was no Nationalist and, accordingly, he was passed over once more. The fact that he was a Jew to boot did not come as any commendation. It was commonly recognised among the leaders in the legal fraternity in South Africa that if he had toed the line, he would and should have taken his seat on the Appellate Division together with his colleagues, with whom he was clearly on a par. In an address by Justice Kenneth Bethune at a memorial function for Israel Goldblatt in the Supreme Court of SWA in early January 1983, he stated: "the fact that he never received a permanent appointment was not due to any lack of ability on his part, but to other factors".⁹ Prof. Ellison Kahn in his obituary in the South African Law Journal wrote: "There are those who know what these other factors were".¹⁰

At the time of his retirement in 1970, Israel Goldblatt was the most senior advocate in South Africa, as he had been for many years.

*Left:
Naomi Jacobson at the
unveilling of her head of
Chief Hosea Kutako dur-
ing the opening of an art
exhibition at the Windhoek
Arts Association, c. 1963*



*Right:
Karen Blum and Israel
Goldblatt on the day of
Karen's admission as
Advocate, 15 May 1966,
outside the Windhoek
Supreme Court*



Early Challenges

In 1922 a rebellion against the SWA administration took place in the south of the Territory, led by Chief Jacobus Christian of the Bondelswarts. Christian was charged with high treason and Goldblatt as a young advocate took on his defence as pro deo counsel, meaning that he was appointed by the State to defend an impecunious accused, charged with an offence which might have carried the death penalty. This must have been an extremely challenging case to handle at that early age, but then, of course, this was the daily fare, considering that the members of the Windhoek Bar had to deal with the backlog of legal cases from the First World War as well as those which had arisen subsequently. A challenge indeed!

The years 1933–1939 saw the rise of Nazism in SWA. It must be remembered that there remained a very large number of German-speaking inhabitants in the Territory, and a considerable number of them were Nazi supporters. Yet, during those early years, the white population being very small and isolated, there was significant integration among the various communities and no overt anti-Semitism. In fact the Jewish residents in the Territory, although small in number, had made their presence felt in many fields — primarily in commerce, as traders and motor dealers, professionally in medicine and in law — and were very highly regarded. Israel Goldblatt, his wife and children remained in Windhoek for the entire duration of the war.

During the war, the Government interned most of the persons whom they regarded as Nazi sympathisers. Some of them were expelled from SWA and South Africa, while many German men were sent to internment camps in South Africa. At the time, and totally in keeping with his approach of fairness and integrity, Israel Goldblatt lobbied the administration to consider the position of the men's German wives. These women were struggling to keep their husbands' businesses and farms going, and he felt that it would be unjust to expect them also to pay tax. This is an indication of his fierce independence, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was a Jew, who would clearly have been treated very differently had Germany won the war, he always remained true to his principles.

With the end of the Second World War in sight, "popular clamour in the Territory appeared to be in favour of the extensive repatriation of local German Nationals". This appears from a nine-page memorandum written by Goldblatt to the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, dated 2 March 1945. In this document, Goldblatt argued cogently that there should not be wholesale repatriation but, rather, that all cases should be considered on their individual merits. The memorandum concludes with the following words:

To sum up, I urge, that humanity and justice require that there should be individual discrimination, and not treatment on the basis of mere German Nationality when the Union Government decides upon its policy of repatriation, and that care should be taken, that no innocent person should suffer harm.¹¹

The tone and content of this document is a further excellent example of the principles that governed Goldblatt's life.

On 10 April 1945, the Acting Secretary to the Prime Minister, J. Naser, replied that "you may be assured that should it be decided to resort to this step that the case of each of these persons will be considered separately on its merits".¹²

Bearing in mind the overwhelming support in the ranks of the ruling party at the time for mass repatriation, can it not be fairly stated that this memorandum, coming from a man of Goldblatt's stature, could have made a significant contribution to the Government's final decision?

Studying the Mandate

The League of Nations, and the mandate system which flowed from it, was created after the conclusion of the First World War, when the victorious Allies had to decide what to do with former enemy colonies. The intention of the mandate system was that the tutelage of the peoples inhabiting the ex-enemy colonies — "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" — should be entrusted to advanced

nations who were willing and able to undertake this responsibility, to be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League of Nations.

In the case of SWA — a C Mandate — the League resolved that

owing to the sparseness of the population, ... its remoteness from the centres of civilisation, [and/or] its geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, [this Territory] can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as an integral portion of its territory, subject to the safeguards mentioned [in the Covenant] in the interests of the indigenous population.

The League was however adamant that there was to be no question of any annexation by the Mandatory of the Territory.

During the existence of the League of Nations and the Mandate, the Administering Authority, namely the South African Government, had to render annual reports on its administration in SWA to the Permanent Mandates Commission.¹³ In 1946 the United Nations took over as the world body, and took the view that the mandate over the Territory still existed and that South Africa still had to honour its obligations in respect thereof.

A formal request by the Union Government to the United Nations in 1946 to allow SWA to be annexed by South Africa was overwhelmingly rejected (37-0, with 9 abstentions) by the General Assembly. Notwithstanding this, and ostensibly acting in the "spirit of the Mandate", and anticipating the result of forthcoming elections in which the previously disenfranchised German community would be entitled to vote, the Nationalist Government passed an Act in 1949 (Act 23 of 1949) which provided for six seats in the Union House of Assembly and four seats in the Union Senate for SWA Members. In 1950, the Nationalists captured 15 of the 18 seats in the Legislative Assembly of SWA. Subsequently further legislation only emphasised the Nationalist Government's determination to effectively make SWA a fifth province of South Africa.

In 1948 too, the Nationalist Government decided not to send any further Annual Reports, as it was required to do in terms of the Mandate, nor to transmit any petitions from the inhabitants of the Territory. The Union Government's view was that the Mandate had ceased to exist.

This led to a confrontation and to the first of several legal cases at the International Court of Justice at The Hague, in 1950. The details of, and results of those cases are well documented and, for present purposes, do not need to be repeated here.¹⁴

Goldblatt took a keen interest in all the developments at the United Nations and in its dealings with SWA, and he commenced a study of the whole issue. At the time he was a very strong admirer of the world body and the principles upon which it was based. In or about early 1960 he started a study group which was known as "Die Gruppe" which consisted of several members of the community, and one notes with interest that the majority were German speaking. (See chapters I and V.) The German community certainly formed the backbone of the white cultural community in SWA. This "Gruppe" met regularly at Goldblatt's house in Schwerinsburgweg and debated recent events at the United Nations with particular reference to the SWA issue. But it must be added that it also studied the activities of the various specialist agencies of the world body. It was a strict requirement of the "Gruppe" that no one could join who was a member of any political party.

In 1950 the South African Government passed the Suppression of Communism Act. That was followed by several other repressive pieces of legislation. Clearly by 1960 and the founding of "Die Grupp", anybody who appeared to be anti-nationalist or liberal would certainly have attracted the attention of the authorities.

The Security Police were very active in the Territory at the time and the members of Goldblatt's family were well aware that he was followed and they were convinced that the home and chamber's telephones were tapped. On one occasion, recalled by his daughter Naomi, he reported that, while mulling over some legal problem, he looked up at the ceiling in his chambers, and noticed a hole in the ceiling which he had not noticed before. He assumed it was some surveillance object and his reaction was to call the security chief at the time, and suggest he remove it, but that if there was anything they wished to question him about they were welcome to come to his chambers to discuss the matter.

On another occasion when he noticed that a yellow Volkswagen Beetle motor vehicle was frequently parked near his gate, presumably to check who was coming in or going out, he invited the driver inside!

This reaction is also amusingly reinforced in a letter written by Ruth First, the famous anti-apartheid activist and communist, who was killed in August 1982 in Mozambique by a letter bomb sent by the South African Security Forces. She had visited Goldblatt in Windhoek in 1962, and the concluding paragraph of the letter written from her London exile on 5 June 1964 (Israel's birthday), reads:

Write and tell me how you live and work and talk and think. Here above much else I think I enjoy the anonymity. You can't say the same in your town, but when I'm not round at least you're not tailed. Though you, of course [sic], enjoyed that, as you enjoy everything.¹⁵

Goldblatt and Ruth First also met briefly in London in the late 1960s, and kept up an irregular correspondence.

Apart from the celebrated Bondelswarts rebellion case of *R v Christian* in 1923, Goldblatt was involved in several other cases against Africans. For example, he was briefed to act in a matter in which the then Herero Chief Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, chief of the Witbooi, had alleged in a petition to the United Nations that a certain Kausana had been "sold or murdered" in the Kaokoveld, in the north-west of the Territory. As a result, these two men were sued for damages for defamation by the then Assistant Native Commissioner, Mr Van Zyl. Goldblatt and his attorney son, Lucian, were briefed to act for the defendants. The matter was eventually settled on terms which the Herero found very gratifying. Reference is made to this matter in Goldblatt's notes in this book.

A further matter in which Goldblatt was involved, which may be described as political, was that of Brendan Simbwaye. Again there are extensive references to this case in the notes, and Simbwaye's letters and the replies are included in the annex.

A reading of Goldblatt's notes shows that his contact with the black people of Namibia, and primarily the Herero, commenced in 1961, when he first met Clemens Kapuuu. Kapuuu had read the first of two of Israel Goldblatt's publications in which he warned the authorities about the looming international confrontation with respect to SWA: *The Conflict between the United Nations and The Union of South Africa* in regard to South West Africa was published in 1960.

This was followed in 1961 by a larger work entitled *The Mandated Territory of South West Africa in Relation to the United Nations*.

As a result of these publications, Goldblatt attracted the attention of a number of people who from time to time visited SWA, which had now become a cause célèbre in international politics. He was regarded as an authority on the SWA issue, and many journalists, academics and politicians who visited the Territory interviewed him. He remained fiercely independent, refused to belong to any political party, but certainly did not hesitate to express his views as to the manner in which the international status of SWA should be resolved. His views often reflected harsh criticism of the South African Government and the SWA Administration. One must remember that at the time there was a plethora of security legislation, and one could easily be detained for 90 or 180 days without any recourse to legal representation. This might have deterred a weaker man. However, Goldblatt was convinced that his actions and opinions were perfectly legitimate, and he certainly did not desist from his contacts with the black Namibians who came to see him for assistance, nor did he refuse to have contact with foreigners who came to the Territory and wished to interview him.

He also maintained good relations with the authorities, to whom he would turn when he wanted assistance with regard to any administrative difficulty he was faced with when assisting an African who had come to see him. In many instances he found the officials helpful. He enjoyed, in particular, the trust of the senior member of the police force, Brigadier Crous, who, on one occasion when there was the prospect of a political riot in Rehoboth, called in Goldblatt to mediate with the inhabitants, who respected him.

His wife, Janet, died in November 1963. She had assisted him in typing the manuscript of a book he had commenced some years before. This was ultimately published in 1971, entitled *History of South West Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth century*, and is dedicated to her. In the foreword to the book he lays out his perspective:

This book is a straightforward account of the developments in South West Africa during the 160 years commencing with the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It records significant events, their causes and consequences, but as the one continuous theme throughout this period is the fate of the Black man, the impact upon him must receive special emphasis.¹⁶

With his work on this book, he became less and less involved in his legal practice, and he ultimately left SWA/Namibia in 1970 to settle in Israel with his second daughter, Michal, who had been there since 1968. He returned to South Africa every year to stay with his other children and to escape the harsh winter in Israel, but once he had left Namibia, his contact with events there became increasingly distant. Soon after arriving in Haifa he received a letter from Clemens Kapuuo dated 28 January 1971, in which he wrote:

We are still doing very well here except that I miss you very much. I miss you so much that I often expect to see you when I pass the Johannesburg Building Society's building where your office is.¹⁷

Some years later, he was most distressed to hear of the assassination of Kapuuo in 1978, and he, together with other members of his family, wrote an obituary for the Herero chief for a local newspaper. (See the annex.)

In 1980 Israel Goldblatt, then 83 years old, decided to remain in Johannesburg where his oldest daughter, Naomi, his son Lucian, and his youngest daughter, Karen, were living. He had for some years been assembling notes for a future book on the origins of anti-Semitism, and he continued with this until his health failed. But he remained keenly interested in international affairs, particularly in so far as they affected Israel, to which he was very attached. He died on 12 December 1982.

This was Israel Goldblatt — a man of great intellect, a man of the greatest integrity, a man of compassion, who applied the principles of justice and fairness in all his dealings, both professional and private. But also a man with a strong and dry sense of humour, a student of Shakespeare, the classics and literature in general, and of the Bible (both Old and New Testaments) as well as the Koran. A man with a strong philosophical bent, a lover of music and of sport.

This was our father.



*Left:
Israel Goldblatt as
LL.B. graduate,
Cape Town, 1919*

*Right:
Israel Goldblatt
at home, 1968*

Israel Goldblatt's Notes and this Book

Israel Goldblatt started writing notes in October 1961 as a result of meeting Chief Clemens Kapuuo and other members of the Herero Chief's Council some months earlier. This was a significant event in both his life and theirs, and from then on he was involved in their difficulties, legal and administrative, and, very importantly, also in their culture.

It is interesting to see that he says in that very first note, "I want to record for the future what the scene looks like". He gave no intimation then or later, what "future" he had in mind. Perhaps another book?

His notes range over a vast and varied subject matter, e.g. ancestor worship, language, the German/Herero War, dances at the Old Location (the African township of Windhoek), the lectures he gave on law and related issues, and, of course, the problems about which they had come to consult him. He gives amusing and insightful thumbnail sketches of people he meets and of incidents in which he was involved.

All these notes, and there were probably many more, were found by his daughter Naomi some time after his death among the papers which she had kept. They were written in his almost illegible handwriting on loose thin pages of paper, and on the back of pages of legal documents. It has been suggested that in writing these notes, and more particularly the pages containing the "Growth of a Rumour", Goldblatt was taking precautions in the event that he was detained or otherwise dealt with by the authorities. That he wanted to set out the reason for the existence and activities of the "Gruppe", since it had somehow come to his notice that this, and the fact that he was sought out by the black people and many foreigners visiting the Territory, had attracted some negative reactions among certain members of the community. It was even "rumoured" that he was planning the overthrow of the Government. It must be remembered that the majority of whites, and particularly the German community, were supporters of the Nationalist Government, and Goldblatt was no doubt viewed with some suspicion.

It needs to be categorically stated, and by those who were closest to him and knew him best, that Goldblatt would never have resorted to any devious or secretive actions. He was obviously aware, in the political climate of the time, that his contacts with blacks and foreigners would attract attention. But he would never allow this to deter him from behaving in the way he thought correct. There was also nothing which would make him deviate from his insistence on total independence. This is clearly seen in many references in his notes, and from his answer to Randolph Vigne (a leading member of the South African Liberal Party), in a letter dated 5 August 1961, where Israel Goldblatt writes:

In regard to the other matter, I am afraid I cannot undertake the task and I cannot think of anyone else.

You see I do not wish to be the means of supplying information to organisations to be used by them as they desire.

My attitude all along has been to be utterly independent of all outside bodies.

You will appreciate that I do not want to be a channel of communication with some organisation over whose use of my material I have no control — however honest may be its intentions.¹⁸

In rebutting the above suggestion, it is submitted that if his motive in recording the "Growth of a Rumour" was in any way to set down an exculpatory document, in the event that he was ever questioned, he would have made sure that members of his family knew of its existence. Also, being the jurist that he was, he would have cast the document in the form of a defence plea. But it was found among the pages of all his other notes, written in the same style, and on the same thin sheets as most of his notes, notes of which the family was totally ignorant until Naomi discovered them after his death.

There was nothing defensive or apologetic in anything he wrote, and that applies to both his published and unpublished writings. The notes now published here are no exception. They provide a rare document of racial interaction in pre-independence Namibia. Apart from Bishop

Mize (the bishop of the Anglican diocese) and perhaps, one or two other whites, Israel Goldblatt was the only white man at the time to whom black Namibians regularly turned for advice, legal and otherwise, and with whom they enjoyed a unique relationship of mutual respect and trust. In fact he himself describes his relationship with Chief Kapuuo as one of friendship.

In conclusion, it must be stated that this book would never have seen the light of day had it not been for the imagination, support and encouragement of the Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB), and in particular, Mrs Daniela Schlettwein and Dag Henrichsen. Although this publication has been many years in the making, the amount of sheer hard work, research and dedication exemplified in Dag Henrichsen cannot be overstated. We, the children of Israel Goldblatt, are sincerely grateful to him and to the BAB for the fact that after many years, our father may be truly seen for the exceptional man that he was.

Naomi Jacobson
Karen Blum-Marshall
June 2010

Endnotes

- 1 See Gus Saron: "David Goldblatt: Champion of Yiddish". In Supplement to the *Zionist Record and S.A. Jewish Chronicle*, 22.September 1978.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 David Goldblatt, in one of his letters (in private possession) to his son Israel, does not mention in what form this enquiry was made.
- 5 Israel Goldblatt dealt extensively with the Mandate history of Namibia. See chapter I of this book.
- 6 Goldblatt does not disclose the identity of this practitioner. See his reminiscences "Early South West Africa -Bench and Bar", in *The South African Law Journal* (SALJ) (1977) 94, pp.490ff., and (1978) 95, pp.120ff., 260ff.
- 7 Obituary by Prof. Ellison Kahn in SALJ (1983), 100, p.291.
- 8 See endnote 6.
- 9 In *The Windhoek Observer* 22 January 1983, p.32.
- 10 SALJ (1983) 100, p.294.
- 11 National Archives of Namibia (NAN), SWAA 2528 – A.585, Goldblatt to Prime Minister, 2 March 1945. Thanks to Martin Eberhardt (Hanover) for drawing our attention to this document.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 These annual reports (*Report presented by the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Council of the League of Nations concerning the Administration of South West Africa*) formed part of Israel Goldblatt's library. His set has been incorporated into the library of the Basler Afrika Bibliographien.
- 14 See esp. Israel Goldblatt: *The Mandated Territory of South West Africa in relation to the United Nations*. Cape Town 1961; John Dugard: *The South West Africa/Namibia dispute. Documents and Scholarly Writings on the Controversy Between South Africa and the United Nations*. Berkeley et al 1973.
- 15 Letter held in private possession.
- 16 Page v.
- 17 The complete letter is reproduced in the annex.
- 18 NAN, AACRLS 096, Goldblatt to Vigne, 5.8.1961. It is not known to which "task" requested by Mr. Vigne, Goldblatt is referring here.

I **"A lonely voice from Namibia": Israel Goldblatt and the South West Africa dispute**

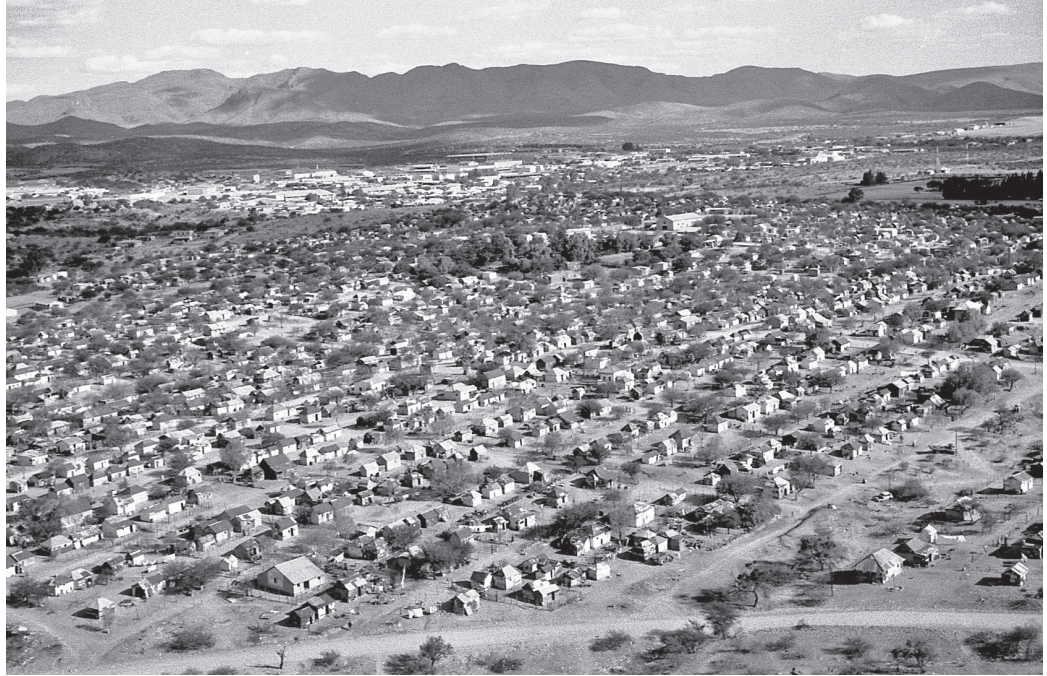
Thursday 10 December 1959 was a bleak day in Namibia's history. On that day, simmering protest in the Old Location, Windhoek's main African township, burst into open conflict when European officials, confronted by a large group of demonstrators, called in the police. The consequences were grave: by the next morning, approximately 12 men and one woman had been shot dead and more than 50 people were injured, all Africans.¹ Deeply shocked by such brutal violence, which many perceived as intentional on the part of the authorities,² Africans have since then commemorated 10 December as a national day of mourning and resistance. "To the memory of those who were murdered by the forces of Apartheid. Their blood will sink in, not in vain, and will inspire others", read the inscription on a commemorative tombstone erected in 1963 on the initiative of Old Location residents, only to be instantly demolished by unknown hands.³

African protest and resistance politics in the Old Location — in existence since at least 1905 — had been building up since 1957, when the Windhoek municipality embarked on the construction of a new African township outside the city centre.⁴ Lobbying for the destruction of the Old Location and the resettlement of its 20,000 inhabitants, the municipality's plans met with increasing resistance. While the municipality hailed the new apartheid township as "most progressive ... to allow for all the necessities of modern man in his need to live in a group"⁵, what they were actually creating were newly defined, ethnically segregated quarters for a highly cosmopolitan population comprising many backgrounds and nationalities. In November 1959, one activist, Emil Appolus, dubbed it "Katutura" — "no place of our own" — and this term was taken up by the Africans.⁶ In contrast to the Old Location settlement, ownership of land or housing was to be prohibited in Katutura and, furthermore, its future residents had to face a sharp increase in rents and transport costs. In early December 1959, the municipality began valuing houses in the Old Location to allow for some compensation for expropriated property, an action that also, however, enabled it to list people for removal. This sparked off a protest march, predominantly of women, into the city centre, followed by a boycott of municipal facilities in the township. These events prompted the police to cordon off the roads leading into the Old Location, with the conflict escalating on 10 December.⁷

The simmering conflict had generated intense political developments in the Old Location in the months leading up to December, and by then several Old Location leaders were also leaders of newly formed African political parties. One of these was the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), which had been formed out of the workers' movement in April 1959 and transformed itself in June 1960 into the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which in the coming years would become the dominant Namibian liberation movement. Another party was the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), formed in the Old Location only a few months before the shootings.

In the aftermath of the shootings, many residents fled to the rural Reserve areas, while some 2,000 inhabitants, mostly municipal workers bribed by higher salaries, were moved to Katutura.

Aerial view of the Old Location 1959/60, with the Windhoek city centre in the background



The majority of Windhoek's Africans, however, continued to live in the Old Location and resisted removal, albeit under increasing pressures and threats. It was only in late August and early September 1968 when bulldozers moved in to destroy the township that the final residents were compelled to leave.⁸ The Old Location had ceased to exist.

Israel Goldblatt followed these events and developments closely, as his various notes in this book make clear, and he did so with some concern. In the immediate aftermath he did not become professionally involved in the official commission of enquiry appointed by the South African government after the shootings and presided over by Justice Cyril Hall, then Judge-President in the Territory.⁹ However, he was briefly consulted by Rev Bartholomews Karuaera of the Herero Chief's Council, then the leading African political body in central Namibia, when their legal representative, the South African lawyer and deputy president-general of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, was barred from entering Windhoek in January 1960. As Sam Nujoma, one of the leaders in the Old Location conflict and future president of SWAPO who faced a deportation order and whom Tambo was also to represent, recalled, the "magistrate did not want to be confronted by a black lawyer".¹⁰ In Namibia at the time there was no "black lawyer".

The events of December 1959 seem to have led Israel Goldblatt to consider what steps could be taken to address what he considered the heart of the matter, namely the legal and thus the political future of South West Africa (SWA). The international dispute revolving around the status of South West Africa had reached a significant stage in 1950, when the International Court of Justice (ICJ), in an Advisory Opinion, held that South West Africa remained a territory under the International Mandate, assumed by South Africa and that South Africa continued to have the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Furthermore, in 1956, the ICJ held that it was legally permissible for petitioners to the UN to give direct oral evidence to the Committee on South West Africa.¹¹ Thus the Namibians Mburumba Kerina and Jariretundu Kozonguizi now appeared as petitioners, in addition to the Anglican Rev Michael Scott who acted on behalf of the Herero Chief's Council.

The Council and other African organisations had been sending petitions to the UN Fourth Committee since 1946, and Goldblatt regularly studied the committee's proceedings, including the Namibian statements, petitions and evidence.

A few weeks after the shootings and two days after British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech to the South African Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, with its vision of decolonisation and modest criticism of apartheid, on 5 February 1960, Goldblatt wrote to the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) in Geneva proposing the establishment of a United Nations Association in Namibia. Since its foundation in 1946, the mission of the WFUNA was to promote "tolerance, understanding, solidarity and co-operation among men, women and children throughout the world without distinction as to race, sex, language, religion or political orientation." The aims of its national associations were "to contribute to the removal of obstacles to peace, to work for justice, security and disarmament, and to promote the development of peaceful co-existence and co-operation among nations" and "to strive for the recognition of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world."¹² Goldblatt was obviously well aware of these aims and he probably knew of the existence of the WFUNA organisation in Johannesburg. He must have been disappointed when he read the prompt answer to his letter from the Geneva Secrétariat, in which it was pointed out that:

the position of a UNA in South West Africa might well prove to be an extremely delicate one. ... The only way out in such circumstances sometimes is the establishment of an Association composed of leading black and white personalities who have previously agreed on a common program to spread objective information.¹³



Front cover of the South African alternative political magazine *Fighting Talk* reporting on the funeral of the African victims during the shootings in the Old Location on 10 December 1959. It prominently shows a portrait of Chief Hosea Kutako, the veteran Namibian politician at the time

*Petitioners on the
Namibian cause to the
United Nations: the South
West News published
this photograph in 1960
depicting Hans Beukes,
Jariretundu Kozonguizi,
Mburumba Kerina and
Rev Michael Scott*



THE TEAM AT WORK: In front from l. to r., seen from the back is Mr. Hans Beukes now a law student in Oslo; Mr. Mburumba Kerina; Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, President of SWANU - an honoured lad at home and abroad; the "Omuhonge". The word "Omuhonge" - Reverend, now a household word in this territory, when not succeeded by a name, refers only to one Reverend and that is Michael Scott. Mr. Scott neither likes praise nor reward and South West News will not commend.

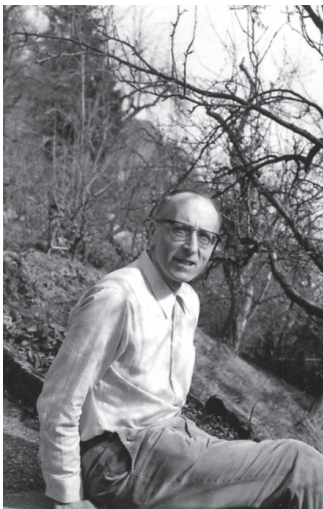
Goldblatt, as we shall see further on, did not regard the circumstances in the aftermath of the Old Location shootings conducive to the formation of such a "mixed" group of leading personalities in Windhoek, and it was only in late 1961 that he began to meet some leaders of the Old Location conflict on a regular basis.

Given the negative response from the WFUNA, Israel Goldblatt now opted for a less ambitious step by establishing what he called a "Study Group", a non-political, informal¹⁴ body comprised of interested European acquaintances, whose aim was "to educate ourselves in United Nations matters, particularly as they affected S.W. Africa".¹⁵ Given the general opposition amongst the white population at large to any role and involvement of the UN in the SWA dispute, his undertaking, modest as it has to be regarded given the already well-established UN petition politics of African politicians, nevertheless can be read as a sincere attempt by a respected resident to move beyond the South African propaganda.

The "Study Group"

The "Study Group", or "die Gruppe", as it was called in the Goldblatt family, was established in early 1960 and included Europeans only. It met at irregular intervals at Goldblatt's home on Schwerinsburgweg and existed for perhaps only two or three years. Among its initial participants was the former editor of the German daily, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Ferdinand Lempp, who had just been dismissed by the press owners, the Meinert family, for his modestly critical reporting of police conduct in the Old Location shooting.¹⁶ Another initial participant was Marga Vaatz, a local politician and a friend of Goldblatt's.¹⁷ However, she and Lempp had

to resign at Goldblatt's request after they, together with Japie Basson, then an independent representative for SWA to the South African parliament,¹⁸ had formed the short-lived South West Party¹⁹ and a newspaper connected to the party. Other participants included a farmer Riehmer, a lawyer Dr Meyer, a general practitioner Dr Kiwi and the accountant and musician Eichbaum. Other members were the secretary of the Karakul Board, Ernst Rudolf Scherz, who was also a pioneer in the study of local rock-art, Goldblatt's close friend Mrs Gebhardt,²⁰ a housewife interested in the arts and literature, and Goldblatt's wife Janet.



*Left:
Ferdinand Lempp
in the late 1950s*

*Middle:
Hans Ludwig
Meyer, 1960s*

*Right:
Israel Goldblatt
in mid-1960*

As Randolph Vigne, vice-president of the Liberal Party in South Africa, who visited Namibia and interviewed Goldblatt in early 1961, observed, most of the Study Group members were "of impeccable unpolitical character and integrity." Studying the UN documents, Goldblatt's intention was, as Vigne phrased it, "to keep himself and this group out of politics in any form, in the hope that one day they may be able to make a statement of unquestioned authority and sincerity, which could influence events towards peaceful change-over".²¹

In November 1960, Goldblatt in his personal capacity published two assessments. The first, a "pamphlet", as he termed it, was entitled *The Conflict between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa in regard to South West Africa*, followed in 1961 by a more elaborate analysis, the so-called "booklet" entitled *The Mandated Territory of South West Africa in Relation to the United Nations*. Both publications caught the attention of two leading politicians of the Herero Chief's



*Left:
Ernst Rudolf Scherz*

*Right:
Irnhild and
Georg Gebhardt, 1960s*

Council, Clemens Kapuuo and Rev Karuaera, and led them to contact Goldblatt in late 1961.

This is how Goldblatt, in September 1963, retrospectively viewed the brief history of the "Study Group":²²

Our Study Group came into existence early in 1960 — met at my house.

The original members were J[ürgen] Meinert, [Ferdinand] Lempp, Rev. v.d. Seyde, Dr. [Hans Ludwig] Meyer,²³ Mr & Mrs. [Edgar and Marga] Vaatz,²⁴ Riemers [sic],²⁵ Eichbaum,²⁶ Mrs. [Irmhild] Gebhardt, Janet [Goldblatt] and myself.

Later on we were joined by Dr. [Wilhelm] Arndt,²⁷ Dr. Kiwi, [John] Kirkpatrick,²⁸ [Peter Lewis] Leigh²⁹ and Dr. [Ernst Rudolf] Scherz.

When Mr. & Mrs Vaatz and Lempp joined Japie Basson's party [the South West Party] they were required to resign.³⁰

The Roman Catholic Pater Balmeyer was invited to attend and join. He attended one meeting and no more.

The object was to educate ourselves in United Nation matters particularly as they affected S.W. Africa.

One or two foreign journalists, German, were invited to attend our meetings, also Curon [?] of the American Consulate of Cape Town.³¹

We had forgotten to obtain the permission of the magistrate to take part in gatherings. This was rectified in May 1961 when he gave permission. It was a condition that no active member of any political party could be a member. At no time were any non-Europeans present. In Nov. 1960 I published my pamphlet [The Conflict between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa in regard to South West Africa] on the urging of the Group. It was translated into German in 1961.³² In May 1961 the booklet [The Mandated Territory of South West Africa in Relation to the United Nations] was published.

Some time after the publication of the pamphlet, Kapuo [Clemens Kapuuo]³³, accompanied by a few members of the Chief's Council came to see me to consult me about the Municipality's action in requiring buildings in the Old Location to be pulled down. About a half dozen Hereros were being prosecuted for having built without permission. This was my first contact with Kapuo. I had never seen him before.

I was briefed to act for the accused in the Magistrate's Court. The cases were all withdrawn.

From then on I seem to have been treated as the Honorary Legal Advisor to the [Herero] Chiefs' Council.

At the time, Clemens Kapuuo was an aspiring young African politician and influential member of the Herero Chief's Council. He had been one of the Old Location leaders in the 1959 conflict. As Goldblatt noted elsewhere: "The Herero leaders had read my pamphlet and appeared to have confidence in me."³⁴ It was, as we shall see, Goldblatt's unambiguous position, as revealed in his publications, on the crucial importance of the UN's role in the SWA dispute

that had generated confidence among a group of African politicians who had already been petitioning the UN for several years. From late 1961 onwards, they began to consult him on issues concerning the rights and actions of protest of the remaining Old Location residents apart from a myriad of administrative difficulties with which they were faced.



Members of the Herero Chief's Council in the Old Location, early 1960s. Seated, from left to right: Theofilus Katjiuongua, Willem Kahengava, Bartholomeus Karuaera, Clemens Kapuuo, Hiandangi Jazama, unknown person. In front of Jazama on his heels: Edward Katjiuanjo. Standing in the centre: Levy Nganjone

Goldblatt's views on the role of the United Nations

Israel Goldblatt was one of the very few lawyers in Namibia at the time who took a keen interest in the future of the international legal status of the Territory. His interest dated back to the 1920s when, as a young lawyer of 26, he defended the southern Namibian Kaptein Jacobus Christian, one of the leaders of the 1922 Bondelswarts Rebellion, in the treason trial at the High Court in Windhoek. The rebellion and its unprecedented suppression by South African air force bombings aroused heated debates between South Africa and the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) of the League of Nations in Geneva on whether or not South Africa's extreme military reaction was a departure from the principles of the Mandate. The PMC emphasised that the Mandatory had to apply the principle that "the well-being and development of less advanced peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation"³⁵ and pointed out that the air bombings and the death of many civilians during the rebellion were a violation of that sacred trust. Indeed, as one scholar put it, "the Bondelswarts rebellion and the manner of its suppression cast a long shadow over the international reputation of South Africa."³⁶ Goldblatt was to observe all this and also the more concrete debate concerning the court case in which he was involved.³⁷ In fact, the court case, which went on appeal to the Appellate Division in South Africa (where it was dismissed), became, in the words of Goldblatt, "a locus classicus on the constitutional and international status of the mandatory".³⁸

Thus at the outset of his legal career, Goldblatt was confronted with the international law dispute concerning Namibia, and by the 1960s, he was regarded as the country's expert on this dispute. In his "pamphlet" of November 1960, after a careful analysis, he rejected South Africa's legal claim over Namibia and emphasised instead the role of the United Nations in

bringing about development and independence for *all* of Namibia's inhabitants. This opinion was in direct opposition to the political mainstream of white politics and popular thinking, as well as South Africa's administration and its legal advisors. Until the early 1970s, the South African government argued that the Mandate over SWA had lapsed with the dissolution of the League of Nations and its transformation into the United Nations Organisation in 1946 and that the UN therefore had no say in the affairs of Namibia. Consequently, South Africa strove to incorporate SWA as a fifth province into its own legal and political system of apartheid and stepped up this strategy in the 1950s and 1960s. It was supported by the local National Party of SWA, the dominant white political party, which, given the increasingly beleaguered settler society in the wake of Africa's decolonisation, by 1960 "completely dominated the all-whites Legislative Assembly" in Windhoek.³⁹ Among the local white opposition parties, the United National South West Party (UNSWP) argued that the Mandate over SWA was still valid, but the UN did not become the legal successor of the League of Nations, and thus the party expressly "supported the South African Government in its refusal to place South West Africa under UN supervision."⁴⁰ Its leader, Advocate Niehaus, had nevertheless suggested greater autonomy for SWA from South Africa since the early 1950s.⁴¹ The newly formed South West Party (SWP) of Japie Basson, Ferdinand Lempp and Marga Vaatz also opposed the placement of SWA under the Trusteeship of the United Nations, while at the same time trying to attract from among the local white electorate, voters with anti-incorporation sentiments. The party propagated the principle of "self-government" of the Territory, and a federal association with South Africa,⁴² albeit with little success.

Goldblatt's view was markedly different. His "pamphlet", he explained in its Foreword, was intended as "a warning to the people of South West Africa to do some serious thinking. It is intended, too, as a warning to the political parties in the Territory to stop thinking in terms solely of White votes, and to come down to the realities of the situation in South West Africa."⁴³ He argued that "the only way" to end the conflict between the Union of South Africa and the United Nations was "by the Union Government's recognition of the supervision of the United Nations" and ultimately the "transition [of SWA] into the [UN] Trusteeship System".⁴⁴ He emphasised that the UN "supervision of this Territory embraces all the inhabitants of South West Africa".⁴⁵ These arguments, it needs to be stressed again, had been voiced over and over again since at least 1946 by the Herero Chief's Council and other African petitioners to the UN, and thus were not new. However, they had not so far been voiced publicly by a member of the white community.⁴⁶

In his "booklet" of 1961, Goldblatt succinctly summed up his views:

... year after year, in South Africa and in South West Africa, possibly for party political reasons or possibly from sheer ignorance, we have had the same argument repeated that the power to administer South West Africa as an integral portion of the Union and the power to apply its laws to the territory in some way conferred independent rights upon the Union.

Once and for all let that ghost be laid. ...

The power to administer South West Africa as an integral portion of the Union and the power to apply its laws, are mere authorities granted to the Mandatory Power in order to enable it to perform its duties, to wit those accepted in terms of Art. 22 of the Covenant in the form of a tutelage in favour of a community not yet able to stand by itself. ...

Not the dominant consideration, but the only consideration is the interests of the inhabitants of South West Africa. The interests of the Union play no part whatsoever.⁴⁷

These were strong views indeed! Importantly, he accused South Africa's incorporation policies of promoting "hostile and uncontrolled African forces"⁴⁸, by which he meant the newly independent African states. Evoking the familiar images of the time in the white press, he predicted an "unrestrained and extremely aggressive attitude of these nations which will develop, if the Union of South Africa were to continue to ignore the United Nations."⁴⁹

His analyses left no room for ambiguity. He argued that "a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations" would allow "an orderly development of this Territory, to a stage when a peaceful transition can take place from Trusteeship status to self-government or independence, by agreement between all interested parties, in which property and political rights can be safeguarded."⁵⁰ He too, like many liberal Southern African commentators at the time, sounded warnings about "mounting hostile action by African independent states, which all are bound to stir up the Africans within the Territory and which may, in the final result, when moods are ugly, and temperatures are high, sweep away all political and property rights presently enjoyed by the Whites in the Territory".⁵¹

From the perspective of readers in Windhoek of the early 1960s, Goldblatt's publications were a pronounced political intervention amidst the tightening bid by the administering authority to incorporate SWA as an integral part of South Africa. The South African Government and the major white political parties had to realise that the most senior advocate in the whole of South Africa and Namibia publicly rejected the claims of the Government and explicitly warned the white electorate about its political strategy.

To his contemporary South African colleagues, such opinions on the international legal status of SWA in the 1960s were "radical", as John Dugard, advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa and professor of law at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, emphasised.⁵² Goldblatt's "voice", as Dugard remembered in 2007, "was a lonely and brave voice from Namibia":

There was little discussion among lawyers of the issue [of UN authority over SWA]. Goldblatt was the only lawyer who presented a pro-UN position. Later, when I did [so myself]⁵³ I also felt the disapproval of the establishment. So Goldblatt was certainly unique at that time. Both in respect of the contacts he maintained with black Namibians and in respect of his views on the legal status of SWA.

Another of Goldblatt's close colleagues, the Cape Town-based retired Chief Justice, and Senator in the South African parliament, Henry Fagan,⁵⁴ had this to say in 1961 after he had read Goldblatt's manuscript of the "booklet":

It gives one a picture of a long story in which South Africa's representatives seem to fare very badly. As one who sees their difficulties and sympathises with their side, I keep asking myself, as I read the proceedings recorded shortly in your pages: 'Is it wise to let so much go by default and where they deign to state our case, why do it so provocatively?' It certainly makes me feel very nervous indeed about the matters now pending before the International Court of Justice.⁵⁵

As has been noted the ICJ was drawn into the legal battle between South Africa and the UN over the administration of SWA from the 1950s onwards. Subsequently Ethiopia and Liberia, both former member states of the League of Nations, instituted legal action against South Africa. In their application they argued that South Africa had "failed to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants."⁵⁶ They sought

Cover page of the South West News. The only non-racial newspaper in the territory, of 23rd July 1960 reporting, among others, on the founding of the South West Party, the barring of the SW News reporter to the Alan Paton lecture, and increasingly repressive actions by the Windhoek municipality against the remaining Old Location residents

an order against South Africa to make it accountable to the UN and a decision that would expose South Africa's apartheid policies in SWA as a violation of the sacred trust of civilisation as stipulated by the Mandate. South Africa replied on a point of procedure, that Ethiopia and Liberia had no standing in law, which submission was upheld by the Court in July 1966. Animosity in the General Assembly to the ICJ's finding gave birth to a resolution terminating South Africa's mandate and the UN became the focus of the growing SWA dispute.⁵⁷ A Council for Namibia was established to govern the Territory from the outside and to lead it to independence. On 12 June 1968, in terms of Resolution 2372, the Territory was formally baptised Namibia. It is interesting to note that while international legal experts took a keen interest in the dispute, they seem to have been unaware of Goldblatt's views and analyses, despite the fact that they came from the most senior legal practitioner of the very country under discussion.⁵⁸

South West News

SUIDWES NUUS

The only non-racial newspaper in the territory

Price 6d. (Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.)

Mehindi ojo otjaitonga ndji hina mbangu komihoko aljerike.

SATURDAY, 23rd JULY, 1960.

No. 6.

R A N D A
avilhe koja
M. PUPKEWITZ &
SONS (Pty.) Ltd.
Ozopreisa nda enena
Ozostofa ozombua
Ondumino jo hange

3rd Party Formed: Calling for Unity of 3 White Groups

On Tuesday evening, 19th July, Mr. Japie Basson, M.P. (Ind. Namib) and Mr. F. Lempp, former Editor of the Allgemaine Zeitung, presented a draft programme of and spoke on the new party — The South-West Party — which they both founded.

The programme has, as one of the objects, the promotion and realization of "real national unity between and the nationhood of the three White language groups in South West Africa"; but has, however, a sort of liberal consideration for the so-called "Coloureds" and "Natives".

Following are the principal goals of the South-West Party taken from its programme:

- (a) White national unity and nationhood and the participation of all three White language groups in the administration of the country;
- (b) Constitutional stability founded, inter alia, on the development of a Federal Association with the Union;
- (c) The practical application of our Christian and Western ways of life by fairer treatment of the non-White;
- (d) Dynamic development of the entire country and all sections of its population;
- (e) The upholding and strengthening of our democratic institutions; and
- (f) A constructive approach to our international relations.

OTJIRA OTJIJE

Mongurova ja Rijjari tjari 19 ka Juli, omhona Japie Basson, okanepo ko Parliamente ngi karunamupo o Namib, no muhona F. Lempp ngari omuhanga uotjaitonga jo tj Ndeliti, otjivaitere opati ombe Jenandi "South-West Party".

Kimue romatukao uao okukondja okukua kumue omihoko imbi viovavapa mbiri mehindi, okutja ovahungire votji Mburu notji Ingitira notji Ndeliti. Uina vena ouripara ukutjita okauua kozombatiri no Vazorundu.

AFRICANS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO ATTEND PATON'S LECTURE

The Committee of the S.W.A. Political Group refused to admit an African newspaper reporter to attend a public lecture which was held in the San Cohen Hall on Thursday night the 14th July, 1960.

The chairman of the meeting, Advocate Berker, stated to the three interested Africans that he, personally had no objection to their presence there. But he was sorry that his Committee had decided otherwise for fear of being stopped from carrying on with such meetings in future. He also feared that he would be "arrested". "You well know the situation in this country", said the Advocate.

The three Africans could not even be allowed to go into a side-room and listen from there, and had to leave for the location after a fruitless attempt to persuade the organisers to allow them entrance somewhere.

COMMITTEE

The members of the Committee of the Study Group were reported to be the following when the Group was founded: Messrs. Lempp (Chairman) Yaatz, Hoeflich, Vroom and Minnaar with Mesdames Levinson, Vaatz and Schoeman. Mr. Lempp has resigned since.

The three Africans who could not be allowed to attend Mr. Alan Paton's lecture were a representative of "South West News", an executive member of SWANU and a teacher at a Coloured School.

Mr. Paton is National President of the Liberal Party and has, in the absence of political imprisonment of Mr. Peter Brown, been Acting National Chairman of the party. He is author of the famous novel "Cry the Beloved Country".

UAZUVA?

Ko Reseva te ja Kakarara kuua otjibauto tjia Mr. Mberirua, amatjinhua i Mr. Kaapma, Tjapopa Mr. Gabriel Tjakuva. Uaka pakua koje ko Kuapa, Ovandu varue mbiri mouto pamue mo Salsbury oure uo mize viata.

O Ceylon jamunine o Prime Minister jomukazendu, Mrs. Bandarenaika. Mrs. Bandarenaika eije omulepandu uo Prime Minister ja Ceylon ndaita ko make, neye omukazendu omutenga mouje okuria o Prime Minister.

Ozorala za Tjoniuse zanjigirua okukahungira notjiuana ohunga no muputuro uo "Bar" no "Bioscope".

Mo mbongarero tjingo pari non-djemeno jokuja Mr. Joghua Kamberija na Mr. John Mungunda ave hungirirepo ovature vo lokasi indit orukuru.

Mo Rhodesia muapamuka omazungano, o Prime Minister ja Southern Rhodesia upatere omuoranganeno pamue mo Salsbury oure uo mize viata.

Thought For The Day

"We are ready to die for our freedom but not ready to kill for it"

— Robert Sobukwe — imprisoned President-General of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress.

Frightened Residents rush for Registration

Reports have reached our office that frightened residents of the old Windhoek Location streamed into the municipal offices to register for Katutura following the roar of guns in a mock 'battle' by the Regiment Windhoek early on Wednesday morning.

Many residents of the Location, recalling the fatal night of December 10-11, associated the 'battle' with shootings in respect of removals and were frightened. "South West News" learnt that many of them came to register. The number is not yet known.

THE BATTLE

It was reported that Commandant Paddy Fourie, told the "Advertiser" that morning, that the trainees were taken seven miles out of town at midnight, and then had to move in on their own camp which had been "taken" by "insurgents".

As the battalion moved in to launch the surprise attack, the men were carrying their full kit. At the crack of dawn they launched, what proved to be a successful attack, and they took over their camping area from the "insurgents".

During the final attack all sorts of weapons and ammunition were used, including machine guns, hand grenades and Bren guns.

Earlier, another report in the same paper ran as follows:

"The almost 150 Active Citizens Force men who are at present encamped in Windhoek for their annual training, are to spend part of their last week in camp training in mock battles of a new kind."

On this occasion the men will be taught how to throw cordons round a riot-torn area. They will be taught the latest methods of dealing with rioters.

Five Officers and 23 sub-officers are responsible for the training of the men, and they are under the command of Captain J. F. J. van Rensburg of Bloemfontein.

The troops in camp all form part of the Regiment Windhoek."

This is what the UNO Committee on South West Africa had to say last year when it approved its report to the General Assembly:

"It (the Committee) is particularly disturbed at the implications of the new defence measure affecting the Territory and of the new penalties imposed for the illegal possession of arms and ammunition at the time when the Union Government has been contemplating mass removals of 'Native' peoples against their wishes and when, in contrast to the trend of events in other African territories it has reaffirmed, by resolution of the Senate, its intention of preserving White supremacy in South West Africa".

It is not known how individual members of the Study Group viewed Goldblatt's position. Nor is it known when the Study Group dissolved. In May 1962 during the visit of the UN emissary to Namibia, Victorio Carpio, the Study Group urged Goldblatt to seek an interview with Carpio to put forward the Group's views. Goldblatt, like many African politicians, waited patiently in the foyer of the Grand Hotel in downtown Windhoek, but the meeting could not be fitted in, as Rev Karuaera remembered in 2006.⁵⁹ Developments by then had, however, already taken a different course for Israel Goldblatt. It was African politicians like Clemens Kapuuo and Rev Karuaera who, from late 1961, increasingly engaged him in matters relating to more immediate concerns, for example, the legal rights of those Old Location residents who continued to maintain their resistance to the municipality's removal scheme.

Goldblatt's Study Group was not, in fact, the only study group at the time in white Windhoek. A "SWA Political Group" had also been formed in 1960, by the then barrister Joachim Berker and Ferdinand Lempp, after the latter had to resign from Goldblatt's Study Group. It included the Vaatz couple, as well as Dan Minnaar, editor of *The Windhoek Advertiser*, a paper which articulated some of the prevailing anti-incorporation sentiments.⁶⁰ But this "Political Group" did not have, as Randolph Vigne observed in 1961, "the intellectual stature of Goldblatt's group".⁶¹ Nor did it subscribe to the unambiguous position on the role of the UN in Namibia's future and thus did not generate the trust which some African leaders started to extend towards Goldblatt. A lecture organised by the "Political Group" with the renowned South African writer and president of the South African Liberal Party, Alan Paton, in Windhoek in July 1960, caused a stir when three African activists, including Zedekia Ngavirue, then a member of the SWANU executive and reporter for the "only non-racial newspaper in the territory", *South West News*, were barred from attendance.⁶²

Having talked to an array of African and European politicians and intellectuals in Windhoek in 1961, Vigne came to the conclusion that "I can see a real purpose though perhaps not a political purpose, in Goldblatt's group, but none in Berker and Lempp's, except that perhaps they will agree on a course of independent action and their association with like-minded people inside political parties is healthy. But I feel it is significant that there are two such groups [that] have come together almost simultaneously with SWAPO and SWANU [in 1959/60], and in them does lie some hope for inter-racial co-operation in the future." His conclusion, in terms of possible action to be taken by the Liberal Party of South Africa on the situation in Namibia, makes sombre reading: "If Goldblatt is right, and it is an impossibility to build bridges at this stage [in 1961], the best hope of bringing about a non-racial group inside SWA and averting a racial clash, is to afford travel and study to some of the young African leaders ..."⁶³

As the next chapters set out, it was the approaches of Clemens Kapuuo, Rev Karuaera and other African politicians towards Goldblatt in late 1961 which, though not in terms of an organisation, but rather through regular meetings, did change Goldblatt's view that it was impossible "to build bridges". In fact, for the next several years, this is exactly what Goldblatt attempted to do. He did so, however, "on my own responsibility", as he put it in 1961 in a letter to Vigne.⁶⁴

Throughout the 1960s, what Vigne was envisioning, namely a political "non-racial group", did not exist in Namibia. While the legal and political challenges for Namibia's future had given rise, as we have seen, to intense political mobilisation and the establishment of the first nationalist parties among the African population, there was hardly any visible and definitely no radical political change within the settler society. The only modest change in the white political landscape came in 1960/1961 with the short-lived SWP.⁶⁵ This party, however, was mainly concerned about the unity of the three European language groups (German-, Afrikaans-

and English-speaking), and offered only a vague vision for "self-government" and the proposal for very limited legislative participation of representatives of the African and coloured communities.⁶⁶ The *SW News* dismissed the latter concerns as "a sort of liberal consideration for the so-called 'Coloureds' and 'Natives'".⁶⁷ The overwhelming majority of the white electorate in the early 1960s was, as Ruth First, the radical left-wing South African journalist and writer who visited Windhoek in mid-1962 to undertake research for her book *South West Africa* and who consulted Goldblatt and socialised with him and his family during her stay, aptly stated, "blinkered by self-interest, and by fear".⁶⁸ She added: "It remains a frightening fact that not a single White political leader in South West Africa has ever advocated a non-racial democracy."⁶⁹ Thus, in the 1960 referendum in white South Africa — and SWA — on whether or not the Union of South Africa should withdraw from the Commonwealth and form a republic, the vote in SWA was 62% in favour of withdrawal while in South Africa itself it was only 52%.⁷⁰ In the whites-only election of 1961 for the SWA Legislative Assembly, the local National Party won 16 out of 19 seats, with the UNSWP winning two seats and Marga Vaatz of the SWP winning one seat in the Swakopmund constituency. Not only did the overall majority of whites vote for an entrenchment of South African rule in SWA, and thus of apartheid, but even in the towns along the coast with a strong German electorate, only 40% of the voters supported the vague autonomy visions of the UNSWP and SWP.⁷¹ This election, it has to be pointed out, was crucial, as it paved the way for the government to establish the controversial Odendaal Commission of 1962–63, which examined the feasibility and then recommended in its report the creation of ten so-called homelands for the African population, and the transfer of many administrative functions from Windhoek to Pretoria.⁷² As Hennie Serfontein, the secretary of the SWP, summed it up, the timing of the Odendaal Commission was no coincidence, given that the international dispute was then before the ICJ: "No doubt Dr Verwoerd [the South African State President] intended the Report to be a political master plan, the final solution for the problems of the territory which would counter international pressure and win diplomatic support for his Government."⁷³

*Newspaper cutting on
Ruth First's departure
into exile in early
1964 after her deten-
tion in Johannesburg*

SUNDAY TIMES, JOHANNESBURG, MARCH 15, 1964 5

Ruth Slovo and her children quit S. Africa for good

By MARGARET SMITH

MRS. RUTH SLOVO, former treason trialist and 90-day detainee, left Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, for Europe last night on an exit permit. This means she will not be allowed to return to South Africa.

Mrs. Slovo was arrested in August last year and held for 117 days in solitary confinement at Marshall Square, Johannesburg, and in Pretoria Central Jail.

She left last night with her two younger daughters, Gillian, 12, and Robyn, 10. The third daughter, Shawn, aged 14, left South Africa earlier this week by ship.

A number of Security Branch policemen were present at the airport when she left.

Friends said the family was going to London to join Mr. Joe Slovo, the Johannesburg advocate who escaped from South Africa in June last year. They said that Mrs. Slovo had not wanted to leave South Africa permanently. But her application for a passport was refused and an exit permit was granted a few days ago.

"The various bans and restrictions imposed on Mrs. Slovo made it impossible for her to continue living in South Africa," a friend said yesterday.

Ruth Slovo, a journalist and author, was forbidden to write and barred from entering premises connected with printing or publishing or to assist in any way with the dissemination of news. Nothing she said could be quoted and she could not write for overseas publications.

Mrs. Slovo was formerly Johannesburg editor of *New Age* and later, when this newspaper was banned, of *Spark*. The prohibition of its entire staff from having anything to do with newspapers forced its closure.

When she could no longer work as a journalist, Mrs. Slovo started a post-graduate course in librarianship. It was while she was working at the library of the University of the Witwatersrand in August last year that she was arrested and detained under the 90-day law.

At the end of 90 days, she was taken from her cell and told that she was free.

Rearrested

Ruth Slovo then walked out of Marshall Square police station on to the pavement outside. She was looking in her handbag for a tickey to make a telephone call to her children when she was rearrested.

While she was under detention, a warrant was issued for the arrest of her father, 70-year-old Mr. Julius First—described by the police as "South Africa's most wanted political figure." Despite watches at the borders, Mr. First escaped and is now overseas.

Ruth First's brother, Ronnie, was also arrested under the 90-day law and held in solitary confinement for three weeks. At the end of this time police told him they did not believe that he was involved in suspicious political activities.



MRS. RUTH SLOVO, former 90-day detainee, left South Africa last night on an exit permit.

Goldblatt's Study Group, though not a political group, and the SWP had been formed by "a scattering of South West Whites ... who are breaking from White supremacy politics", as Ruth First put it, though without naming any particular body. She was probably referring specifically to the Study Group when she stated that:

They are trying to get to grips, in discussions among themselves, with African grievances; and by looking into the facts of the mandate's history they are adjusting themselves to the idea that the U.N. cannot be dismissed as dangerously meddling. ... But this group is still very small and has not ventured to make public its existence.⁷⁴

Endnotes

- 1 The first reliable list of the victims was published in the first issue of *South West News* (SWN), a newspaper issued by activists and journalists in the Old Location, 5 March 1960, 1, 1, p.4.
- 2 This according to Randolph Vigne in his *Confidential Report to the South African Liberal Party* after having visited Windhoek in 1961. He refers to Dan Minnaar, the editor of *The Windhoek Advertiser* who "has excellent sources of information". NAN, AACRLS 096, "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 3 See Goldblatt's note on 9.6.1963 in chapter IV.
- 4 On the history of the Old Location history see esp. Jafta et al (1995); Pendleton (1994); Emmett (1999); O'Lynn (c.2001). The discussion here does not engage with O'Lynn's argument against the "simplistic view" – that the shooting started because of the resettlement scheme – which, he argues (on p.57) remains the prevailing one in Namibian historiography.
- 5 Brand (1961), p.127.
- 6 See the letter of Appolus in *The Windhoek Advertiser*, 6.11.1959.
- 7 Ngavirue (1997), p.212ff. Emmett (1999), pp.303ff; Jafta et al (1995).
- 8 According to Pendleton (1994, page 16) the Old Location was officially closed on 31 August 1968. See also Jafta et al (1995), p.51ff. The other African townships in Windhoek, the Klein Windhoek Location and Pokkiesdraai, were closed in 1961 and 1963 respectively. Their inhabitants, too, faced destruction of their homes and resettlement.
- 9 Goldblatt regarded Hall as a nationalist and his appointment as a purely political one. Pers. comm. Naomi Jacobson to Dag Henrichsen.
- 10 Nujoma (2001), p.80. Tambo was hired to defend those accused of organising the resistance in the Old Location in December 1959, amongst them Sam Nujoma and Nathaniel Mbaeva. Nujoma himself, who since late December faced deportation orders, had initially approached the lawyer Lucian Goldblatt, Israel Goldblatt's son. See also Ngavirue (1997), p.270. After the refusal for Tambo to enter Windhoek, the attorney Wentzel, on the suggestion of liberal politicians in South Africa and funded by Michael Scott's Africa Bureau in London, made submissions to the Hall Commission, which, according to Randolph Vigne, were ignored. See Vigne (1997), p.185.
- 11 Goldblatt (1961b), p.57f; Dugard (1973), p.197.
- 12 See the website "wfuna.org.", section History & Constitution.
- 13 BAB, Personenarchiv (PA) Israel Goldblatt (PA.7), Secrétariat of the World Federation to Goldblatt, 5 Feb 1960 (letter incomplete).
- 14 As he explains in his essay "Growth of a Rumour" (cited below), Goldblatt did ask for official permission for these meetings to take place!
- 15 See his essay "Growth of a Rumour" (cited below).
- 16 See BAB, Personenarchiv Ferdinand Lempp (PA.5), I.A.1.: Karl Ferdinand Lempp. 1986.
- 17 Marga Vaatz, from Windhoek, became a politician, together with Ferdinand Lempp and Japie Basson, in 1960 in their newly founded political party, the South West Party. She became the party candidate for the constituency of Swakopmund for the 1960 elections to the Legislative Assembly, making a strong claim for the involvement of white women in local politics.
- 18 From 1947 to 1949 Japie Basson was the organisational secretary of the United National South West Party (UNSWP), the local party of the Smuts-led South African United Party. He then joined the National Party (NP) of SWA and was a MP for the "Namib constituency" in the SA parliament. He broke with the NP in 1959 "over the growing absolutism of Verwoerd's racist politics (apartheid) now also imposed on SWA", keeping his MP seat as an independent representa-

- tive. Letter of Basson to Dag Henrichsen, 21 March 2010. See also Basson's reminiscences (2004), (2006) as well as Dugard (1973), p. 534ff.; Wath (1983), p.144ff.
- 19 On the South West Party see the next section in this chapter and also First (1963), p. 53; Eberhardt (2007), 504ff.
 - 20 Renate Irmhild Gebhardt (nee Zeuschner, 1918-1993) was married to the dentist Dr. Georg Gebhardt (died 1976). Through her acquaintance with Israel Goldblatt she befriended Clemens Kapuuo. Pers. comm. Tilman Gebhardt (Frankfurt) to Dag Henrichsen, 23 July 2006. The Gebhardts can be regarded as having led what could be termed a non-conformist lifestyle which included relationships with some Africans. Pers. comm of Henning Melber to Dag Henrichsen, 10 May 2009.
 - 21 NAN, AACRLS 096, R. Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
 - 22 The following extract is taken from Goldblatt's essay "Growth of a Rumour". The full essay is provided in chapter V of this book.
 - 23 From 1949 to 1980, Hans Ludwig Meyer (1910-1993), a lawyer from Germany, who, after facing job discrimination by the National-Socialists, emigrated to SWA in the 1930s, was a partner of Lorentz & Bone. Pers. comm. of Edward Meyer to Dag Henrichsen. See also Kirkpatrick (2001), p.85.
 - 24 On Marga Vaatz see endnote 17. She and her husband lived on the farm Düsternbrook outside Windhoek. See the numerous references to the Vaatz couple in the mouthpiece of the South West Party, the *SW Bulletin* and also Marga Vaatz's reminiscences (n.d.).
 - 25 Wilhelm and Edith Riehmer farmed close to Windhoek. See Egan-Krieger (1996), p.76f.
 - 26 H. Eichbaum was an accountant by profession.
 - 27 Dr Wilhelm Arndt was an accountant in Windhoek.
 - 28 John Kirkpatrick was partner of Lorentz & Bone since 1954 (until 1997). See Kirkpatrick (2001).
 - 29 Peter Lewis Leigh was another lawyer and, from 1966 to 1980, also partner of Lorentz & Bone. Kirkpatrick (2001), p.85.
 - 30 On the South West Party see endnote 19.
 - 31 The name is illegible. Perhaps Goldblatt is referring to the US ambassador to South Africa, Philipp K.Crowe, who twice visited Namibia in 1960 and also stayed with Edgar and Marga Vaatz on their farm Düsternbrook outside Windhoek. See *SW Bulletin*, 24.11.1960, p.4.
 - 32 Israel Goldblatt (1961a).
 - 33 Goldblatt always spelled Clemens Kapuuo's name as Kapuo.
 - 34 See Goldblatt's notes dated 18.10.1961, quoted in chapter II of this book.
 - 35 Quoted in MacKenzie Lewis (1977), p.138.
 - 36 Ibid, p.234.
 - 37 The best book on this is Cockram (1976), esp. p.160f., although she fails to analyse the court case and does not mention Goldblatt at all. Christian and three other leaders who survived the bombing were sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labour.
 - 38 In *The South African Law Journal* (SALJ) (1978) 95, p.122f.
 - 39 Du Pisani (1986), p.144.
 - 40 Quoted from the UNSWP policy manifesto of 1954, in *ibid*, p.143. Du Pisani analyses the modestly different political views among White political parties in Namibia with regard to the legal framework of the territory on p.141ff. His analysis of the UNSWP differs in part from those of Bryan O'Linn (c 2001), p.40). For a contemporary assessment of the UNSWP see First (1963), p.54.
 - 41 Du Pisani (1986), p.142.
 - 42 *The Principles and Aims of the South-West Party*, 1961. For an assessment of this party see endnote 19.
 - 43 Goldblatt (1960), Foreword.
 - 44 Ibid, p.30.
 - 45 Ibid.
 - 46 See also the comment on Goldblatt's "remarkable" intervention by the American activist Allard Lowenstein, in Lowenstein (1962), p.113. Lowenstein, who visited Namibia in 1959 after having met Rev Michael Scott in order to obtain information about colonial rule in the country, socialised with the Goldblatt family. Bryan O'Linn mentions that he analysed critically the SWA dispute, the crucial role of the Mandate and the exploitive structure of the apartheid system in an article published in 1955. Unfortunately no reference is provided and it has not been possible to obtain a copy of the article or his 1959 manuscript in which he, according to Christo Lombard, analysed "the racist and discriminatory system then prevailing in South Africa and Namibia". Lombard in O'Linn (c 2001), p. x.
 - 47 Goldblatt (1961b), p.24.
 - 48 Goldblatt (1960), p.29.
 - 49 Ibid.
 - 50 Ibid, p.29f.
 - 51 Ibid, p.30.
 - 52 Dugard in an e-mail to Dag Henrichsen, 6 October 2007.
 - 53 See Dugard (1973).
 - 54 Judge Henry Fagan, a university colleague and friend of Goldblatt, chaired the Native Laws Commission in 1949/50, between 1957 and 1959 was Chief Justice and, from 1962, Senator to the South African Parliament until his death in 1963. See M.D. Southwood: "Fathers and their children on our Bench". In *Consultus*, April 1990, p.30. Randolph Vigne regarded him as a "verligte Cape Afrikaner". Vigne (1997) p.151.
 - 55 See BAB, PA.7, Fagan to Goldblatt, 9 June 1961.
 - 56 Dugard (1973), p. 240.
 - 57 See esp. *ibid*, pp.214, 220ff., 239ff.

- 58 Except for Dugard (1973), no other relevant work consulted mentioned Goldblatt.
- 59 Telephone conversation between Dag Henrichsen and Rev Karuaera, 2 March 2006.
- 60 See Du Pisani (1986), p. 144.
- 61 NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 62 See the report in SWN No 6, 23 July 1960, p.1. The newspaper noted that Lempp had since resigned from the Political Group.
- 63 NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 64 Ibid, Goldblatt to Vigne, 5.8.1961. The full letter is included in the annex.
- 65 Compare this to Bryan O'Linn's disillusioned comment on the UNSWP in his book (c.2001).
- 66 *The Principles and Aims of the South-West Party* (1961), whilst calling for "co-operation, tolerance, goodwill and good faith" among all population groups in SWA, only foresaw the "co-opting" of one representative each of the African and coloured communities of SWA to the local Legislative Assembly: p.5f.
- 67 *SW News* No 6, 23 July 1960, p.1. See also First (1963), p.53.
- 68 Ibid, p.15. Italics in the original.
- 69 Ibid, p.54.
- 70 Eberhardt (2007), p.508. It should be pointed out that the SW Party mobilised for the "free and unrestricted membership of the Commonwealth. See *The Principles and Aims of the South-West Party*, p.7.
- 71 Eberhardt (2007), p.508. See also O'Linn (c 2001), pp.40, 66.
- 72 Dugard (1973), pp.234ff. See also Gordon (2005), pp.35ff.
- 73 Serfontein (1976), p.57.
- 74 First (1963), p.53.

II Israel Goldblatt's first encounters with Namibian nationalists

From late 1961, at times very regularly and not only professionally but also on a more private basis, Israel Goldblatt met with a group of young African politicians. All of these men were actively involved not only in the Old Location conflict but also in the formation of modern African party politics and the development of modern Namibian nationalism. Most of them belonged to the then dominant African political body inside Namibia, the Herero Chief's Council, presided over by Chief Hosea Kutako. More precisely, they belonged to the Ozohoze, Kutako's group of younger activists.¹ Some of these men are regarded as crucial figures of modern Namibian nationalism as it developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and a few were soon to become influential politicians. Amongst them, and most prominent in Goldblatt's notes, was the eloquent Clemens Kapuuu, then the Deputy Chief and designated successor to the veteran of modern Namibian nationalism, Chief Hosea Kutako, a man in his nineties. Israel Goldblatt would meet Kutako in due course, through Kapuuu. Another was Levy Nganjone, also a member of the Herero Chief's Council and at the same time the publicity secretary of the newly founded SWAPO, which until 1962 was aligned with the Herero Chief's Council. A third figure was Rev Bartholomews Karuaera, a pastor of the independent African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC) church and simultaneously the influential secretary-general of the Herero Chief's Council. These and other men belonged to the small African intelligentsia in Windhoek and many were teachers by profession. Some had already been politically active in various political and cultural bodies which had sprung up in the Old Location in the 1950s, such as the African Improvement Society and the South West Africa Progressive Association.²

The young Clemens Kapuuu standing (3rd from the left) amongst a group of Old Location politicians, c. 1953. Also standing (from left to right) Tjiriomundu B. Kukuri, Zedekia Ngavirue, Hiandova Munoko, Gabriel Mbuende. Second left seated is Rev Karuaera followed by Hijakapeturu Ukarerani and the Headmaster of the Angelican St Barnabas School, Berthold Himumuine



Through his encounters with these men, Israel Goldblatt went on to meet other prominent African politicians, including the southern Namibian Kaptein Hendrik Samuel Witbooi, like Hosea Kutako, a veteran politician and prominent petitioner to the UN. Goldblatt would also meet, again through Kapuuo, the beleaguered Caprivian politician Brendan Simbwaye from the remote north-eastern part of the country. By the time they met, Simbwaye had already faced imprisonment, and Goldblatt was briefed to act for him.

Meeting these men not only in his chambers but also at his home, or at Kapuuo's home in the Old Location, was highly unusual. As Ruth First aptly phrased it:

Whites and Africans meet, of course, but as administrator and headman, constable and convict, master and servant. In the Windhoek of 1962 there are three White men who from time to time meet Africans on a basis of equality to talk over the territory's problems. There is not a single political organization in South West Africa to which both Whites and Africans belong; there has never been a forum in the country for both White and non-White speakers.³



*Left:
Israel Goldblatt in
Windhoek in the 1960s*

*Right:
Robert Mize, Bishop of
Damaraland between
1960 and 1968*

For obvious reasons, Ruth First did not name the three white men or their African counterparts. First, though, met Goldblatt and knew about his Study Group, and as his notes reveal, Israel Goldblatt was one of these unnamed white men. From 1962, Goldblatt and the young African politicians established regular "classes on law and administration" in addition to their legal consultations. Their conversations often led to discussions about the situation in SWA and broader issues concerning the country, as shown by Goldblatt's notes provided in chapter III. Another person to whom Ruth First was possibly alluding was the Windhoek-based Anglican Bishop Robert Mize from the United States, who was head of the Anglican Church in SWA since 1960 and who maintained closer relations with Kapuuo and other African politicians than is generally known.⁴ His involvement, which included support of resistance by the Old Location residents, led to his becoming, like Goldblatt, a target of the Security Police, as chapter V will outline. Not surprisingly, in August 1968, Mize was the first foreign clergyman to be deported by the South African government, with many others following in the early 1970s.⁵ The third person Ruth First might have been referring to was one of the journalists interested in African politics, either Ferdinand Lempp, Dan Minnaar or Hannes Smith ("Smithie"), the latter two then connected with the *Windhoek Advertiser*.

Here, we introduce the African politicians through extracts from those notes of Goldblatt which refer to their first encounters. Goldblatt's notes start in October 1961 with the following sketch:

18-10-61

I am sitting on the balcony which serves the advocates chambers & Dr Gebhardt's⁶ (dentist) consulting rooms.

In front of me to the West is the Roman Catholic Church & hospital.

I want to record for the future what the scene looks like. A photograph would do the trick but I have no camera. I have pen & paper, however. The church has 2 turrets ending in spires. On the left hand one there is a spire, squat-looking ending in a ball from which projects a rod penetrating a circle [sketch] ending up in a weather cock.

- The origin of the cock: The right hand turret is a replica of the lefthand one, except that there is no weather vane (cock).

- The origin of the design. About 5 years ago the turrets were painted by (members?) of the church.⁷

I am sitting outside, because it is a hot day — hot inside and there is a pleasant breeze flowing from the west which is cut off if one sits inside.

My meditations are interrupted by a knock at the door.

An Herero wants to make an appointment for Kapuo, the deputy chief who is to succeed Hosea Kutako on his death.

My first meeting with Kapuo was about 3 months ago.

The Herero leaders had read my pamphlet, — and appeared to have confidence in me.

The first visit was connected with the question whether they could be prevented by the location superintendent from improving their houses [in the Old Location] by building on.

Kapuo does not come alone, he is invariably attended by two or more of the chief's council.

This procedure seems to be required by their rules.

He is about 30 years old. Clean shaven — tall. European dress — clean looking. Is a teacher in the local native school under the administration. Talks English well with here and there an incorrect accentuation.

The Herero leaders insist on talking English. They will not talk Afrikaans.

I gave him my advice. I explained to him that I was not treating the matter professionally, in which case he would have had to instruct me through an attorney and pay a fee.



*View of Bülow Street
(left) with Israel
Goldblatt's chambers
in the left foreground,
and, in the background,
the Catholic cathedral*

He appeared to understand. He is intelligent and very pleasant in his manner — with a ready smile.

The next time I met him about 3 weeks afterwards. Again, an Herero makes a formal appointment.

This time Kapuo wants to know whether an attack made upon his section of the Hereros by another Herero belonging to a rival group contained in a letter in the Windhoek Advertiser, is libellous.⁸

I advise him that it is but that it is not worth instituting legal proceedings. He should reply in the press.

He did so in a long letter which began with the statement that "my lawyer has advised me that the letter is libellous but I am content to reply through the press."⁹

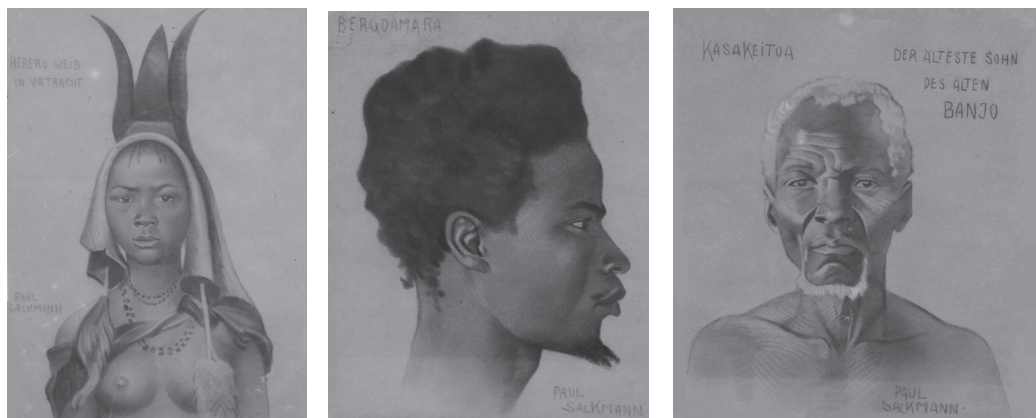
So I am "his lawyer". Here too there was no fee.

He and the others with him were interested in three drawings which hang on my walls. They are by [Paul] Sackmann and are pre 1914. One of them is of the son of old Banjo [Mbanjoo], a Herero chief who ... [sic], another is of an Herero young woman who wears a bridal (Tracht) — with feathers in it.¹⁰

They said that these customs no longer prevailed except in the Kaokoveld among the Ovatom-bas. They were amused by the pictures.

One of the Hereros with Kapuo was Levy [Nganjone]. He speaks English better than the rest — is also a teacher. Has his own motor car — also pleasant, quiet, well spoken and with a sense of humour. European dress. I have not in my 43 years here seen a Herero in anything but European dress. Whether conditions are different in other parts of the country I do not know.

The sketches by Paul Sackmann in Goldblatt's chambers which aroused the interest of his African visitors



Levy (the biblical name was given to him as to others, by the Christian priests) - The mission is probably the best educator of all the Hereros. He understands German, Afrikaans and English. He has compiled the greater part of an Herero-English grammar. It is almost complete. But there are errors in the English and I have undertaken to assist in putting that part right. This will involve my becoming acquainted with Herero – a difficult proposition.

Levy was associated with Dr. [Oswin] Koehler, a German ethnologist, who was out here a few years ago to study native languages. He accompanied Koehler on two of his trips into the country, and is mentioned by Koehler with appreciation in an article contributed to a local memorial to Dr [Heinrich] Vedder.¹¹

Levy has put a lot of intelligent work into his grammar.

Another Herero, Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku]¹² is also engaged upon a grammar. He is transcribing a Herero dictionary with grammar accompaniment by [Missionary] Kolbe dd 1883.¹³ He is recasting the grammar so as to conform to modern conditions.

He spends a half hour everyday at the public library between 12.30 and 1 transcribing.

They asked for permission to translate my pamphlet into Herero. I declined as I do not understand Herero and could not check up.

So ends the first entry of Goldblatt's notes on his first meetings with Clemens Kapuuo, Levy Nganjone and Isascar Kambatuku.

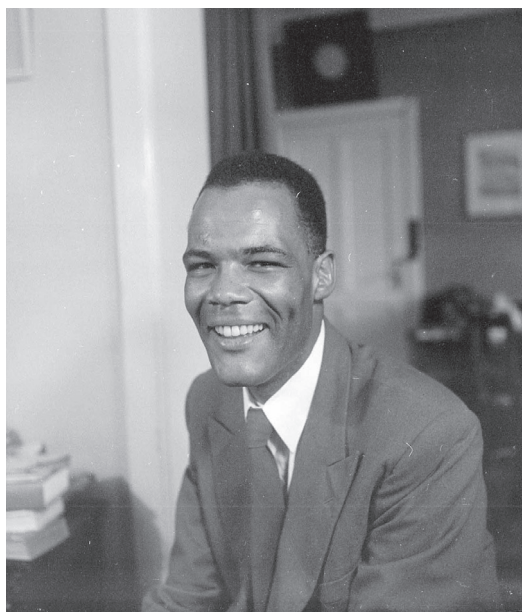
Clemens Mutuurunge Kapuuo (1923–1978) was at the time quickly becoming a prominent Namibian politician inside the country.¹⁴ Born in 1923 into a family with close relations to the former Herero paramount chief, Samuel Maharero (1840s–1923), he received his school education at the St Barnabas Anglican Church School in the Old Location, followed by teachers' training at the Stoffberg Gedenkskool near Viljoensdrif, a college of the Dutch Reformed Church in the former Orange Free State province of South Africa. From 1947 onwards, he was an interpreter for chief Hosea Kutako. Serving for some time as president of the (African) SWA Teachers Association, in 1961 he taught at the Rhenish Mission Primary School in Windhoek, as did Levy Nganjone. As Bishop Mize, who knew Kapuuo well, recalled in 1978, Kapuuo, "year after year, continued his studies through correspondence from the University of London and had become one of the few well educated Hereros."¹⁵ When, in the early 1960s, the government wanted to remove Kapuuo from Windhoek and transfer him to a school in

the Waterberg East Reserve as a form of "punishment" (Mize) for his intense resistance politics, notably with regard to the Old Location, Kapuuo resigned from his teaching position and took over the shop of his father, Clement Kapuuo, while it was still in the Old Location, and later continued running it in Katutura.¹⁶ He became one of the very few independent African entrepreneurs in Windhoek and was a member of the tiny elite of well-educated and enterprising Africans who increasingly immersed themselves in nationalist politics.

His political involvement became more pronounced after 1959, when he became an active political organiser and involved himself not only in the formation of SWANU but also, together with Levy Nganjone and other young activists like Sam Nujoma and Zedekia Ngavirue, in the coordination of the Old Location residents' protest movement.¹⁷ By 1958 he had already been elected by the leaders of the Herero Chief's Council as deputy to the then already 80-year-old Kutako. The Herero Chief's Council was a loose group of rural and urban Herero leaders of various backgrounds and generations who dominated African politics until the late 1950s when the first modern African political parties were formed, all under the guidance of the Chief's Council and the personal involvement of Kapuuo.¹⁸ Despite his position, Kapuuo quickly came under fire from SWANU when, after the Old Location shootings, he disassociated himself from the party he had helped to form.¹⁹ He also had to sustain criticism from various sections of the Herero community on his status as heir to Kutako as chief of the Herero. Nevertheless, as Goldblatt's notes make clear, Kapuuo maintained wide-ranging contacts with various African politicians in Namibia, some of whom he introduced to Goldblatt, when the legal situation required it. He obviously followed, on the one hand, a nationalist and integrationist line, while on the other hand attempting to modernise "Herero politics". In 1964 Kapuuo and Karuaera, together with other leaders, formed NUDO, the National Unity Democratic Organisation. NUDO "aimed to bring the different black communities into one organisation, but joining as corporate groups under their traditional leaders", as Zedekia Ngavirue described it.²⁰ While Ngavirue regarded NUDO "merely as another name for Kutako's council",²¹ it has to be acknowledged that the founding of NUDO was not only an attempt by Kapuuo and Karuaera to form an alternative national party to both SWAPO and SWANU but also an attempt to unite traditional leaders in a more modern political framework in the wake of the homeland policies of the Government, which through its Odendaal scheme set about



*Left:
Clemens Kapuuo in 1962
in the Aminuis Reserve*



*Right:
Levy Nganjone in
Windhoek in the late 1950s*

establishing ethnic homelands throughout the country. Although NUDO never did reach out beyond its Herero base, it did provide Kapuuo with a solid base from which to pursue his politics of resistance in the years to come.²² Claiming Herero paramountcy upon the death of Chief Hosea Kutako in 1970, Kapuuo as NUDO leader in the mid-1970s became heavily involved in the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference of "multi-ethnic" talks which attempted to create an internal settlement scheme, in collaboration with South Africa, for the independence of Namibia. To this end, in late 1977, he became a co-founder and first president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which was composed of predominantly ethnically based political parties.

Over time, Kapuuo and Goldblatt developed a mutual and respected friendship, much to Goldblatt's fascination. Their friendship transcended the issues for which Kapuuo sought Goldblatt's advice and intervention, and included invitations from Kapuuo to Goldblatt to attend social functions at the Old Location, and invitations by both men to each other's homes. This kind of relationship was highly unusual in the colonial setting of Namibia at the time and, obviously, rumours circulated through the European community about the nature of their relationship, as chapter V shows in greater detail.

As Goldblatt writes, Kapuuo rarely came alone, and one of his regular companions was *Levy Nganjone*. Nganjone (192?–2005), was also a trained teacher and in the 1950s worked for the Government Ethnologist Oswin Köhler as interpreter and assistant. In 1961 he too, like Kapuuo, was a teacher at the Rhenish Mission Primary School in Windhoek.²³ Randolph Vigne described him in 1961 as "a resourceful and determined young man" who, in possession of a camera, travelled through northern Namibia in order to supply the UN with photographs, probably already in his capacity as publicity secretary of SWAPO, the political party which the Herero Chief's Council supported in the early 1960s, in contrast to the more radical SWANU party. Like Kapuuo, Nganjone was also a member of the Chief's Council. Nganjone remained loyal to SWAPO until the early 1970s when he joined Kapuuo's NUDO party and became a member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.²⁴

Members of the Herero Chief's Council at the home of Dr. Oswin Köhler in Windhoek, c. 1956. Chief Hosea Kutako is standing to the left of Köhler with Levy Nganjone standing behind both men





*Clemens Kapuuo
(second from the right)
in front of his shop in the
Old Location, 1960s*

The third person whom Goldblatt mentions in his first entry and who often accompanied Kapuuo was Isascar Kambatuku, another member of the Ozohoze, Chief Kutako's group of activists. In late 1959, Kambatuku became the assistant to SWANU's secretary-general, Uaseta Mbuha.²⁵

Frequently accompanying Kapuuo to the consultations with Israel Goldblatt was *Rev Bartholomews Karuaera*, the influential Secretary-General of the Herero Chief's Council, though Goldblatt, interestingly, says very little about him. Born in 1918, he was thus older than Kapuuo and Nganjone, and by the early 1960s, in his mid-40s, already had a remarkable career behind him.²⁶ Also a teacher by training, around 1947 he was employed in the offices of the attorney Joseph Orman, while at the same time being an organiser of the South African Railway and Harbour Union in Windhoek. He then embarked on theological studies in South Africa, before becoming the Windhoek preacher of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), whose headquarters were in Gibeon with the Witbooi family. The AMEC church had formed an important critical organisation in Namibian society since the late 1940s. In 2006 Karuaera remembered having first met Israel Goldblatt in early 1960 when Oliver Tambo, the legal counsel for Sam Nujoma who had been served with a deportation order, was prevented from entering Windhoek, and the Herero Chief's Council approached Goldblatt (and Advocate Bryan O'Linn) for legal assistance. According to Karuaera, Goldblatt, "was very liberal. He was a very good lawyer, strong in his arguments. ... Many other lawyers were not sympathetic to our cause."²⁷ By that time, Karuaera was Hosea Kutako's secretary and he and Kapuuo formed the central thrust to transforming the Herero Chief's Council politics into modern party politics, with the founding of NUDO.²⁸ Karuaera, especially, was viewed by the few Europeans who monitored African politics at the time, like Kurt Dahlmann, editor-in-chief of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, as "the chief ideologist of the Herero".²⁹ Becoming a fierce opponent of Kapuuo in the succession struggle over the Herero paramountcy after the death in 1970 of Chief Hosea Kutako, Karuaera eventually defected from NUDO and in around 1977 joined SWAPO which, as he put it retrospectively, caused his "political death".³⁰

*Left:
Rev Karuaera (right)
and Clemens Kapuuo
studying the Odendaal
Report of 1964. The report
became the blueprint for
South Africa's homeland
policy in Namibia*



*Right:
Rev Karuaera (centre) in
the 1970s in the United
States. Second to the right
is the Namibian politi-
cian Mburumba Kerina*



Israel Goldblatt not only provided these men with legal and other general advice, but, as becomes clear in his notes, he also sought them out to deepen his knowledge of Herero history and culture. As a result, a mutual trust developed, through which Goldblatt was effectively introduced to a small group of African intellectuals in Windhoek. Although well aware of the differences in their backgrounds, they also found much common ground. Goldblatt's brief notes on these men bring across some personal details which make his writing, apart from the political context, so valuable.

Almost a year after having met Clemens Kapuuo, Levy Nganjone, Isascar Kambatuka and Rev Karuaera, Goldblatt met *Chief Hosea Kutako*, the veteran Namibian politician, for the first time.

30.7.62

One of the charges brought against the Adm[inistration] in a petition to UNO last year was that a young man of Kaokoveld had been "sold or murdered" by the Native Commissioner in the Kaokoveld. This native had been imprisoned in Angola for 2 ½ years and came back after the petition had been sent and the matter received publicity.³¹ [See the petitions in the annex.]

A defamation action has now been brought against Chief Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi by [Barend Johannes] V [van] Zyl, the Asst. Nat. Com. at the time. I am acting for Hosea and Witbooi and it became necessary to have consultations with various Hereros from Kaokoveld, also with Kapuuo and Hosea.³² This was my first meeting with Hosea. He is about 92 – massive figure – massive personality. His mind is very active. He sees the point at once and has an intelligent observation to make. For a man of 92, he is very intelligent and for a non-white, extraordinary. Dignified, not assertive.

One eye seems to be affected. He is a natural leader and whether he is elected in the normal way or not, he is the recognised leader of his people. Except for two small groups, Mbanderus³³ and leaders of SWANU. These SWANU leaders, Munga [John Muundjua]³⁴ etc. are a silly lot of youngsters – nowhere near Kapuuo, Hosea, Rev. Karawaya [Rev Karuaera] and others whom I have met of the supporters of Hosea, in intelligence and bearing.

Munga [Muundjua] who last week [on Friday 20 July] led a demonstration against the removal of the Damaras [from the Old Location to Katutura], defended in the Windhoek Adv [Advertiser]

the use of a placard, during the demonstration among other placards, bearing the inscription "down with the Jewish Traitors".³⁵

His letter to the press is really idiotic.³⁶ At the conclusion of my consultation with Hosea (Kapuo, Kefas [Chief Kefas Muzuma of Kaoko], Franz, Karawaya, Kausana [Mbirioro Kasaona] – the victim – were present) after two hours, during which he did not flag, he said he wanted to say something. 'I know what has been said against the Jews. I have never had anything against the Jews. What these young men say is all lies. I am an old man and have never looked for trouble. I am saying this so that you can hear this from my own mouth and I would like you to tell your Jewish friends'.

There was nothing arrogant about this and I was deeply moved. I said I respected him for what he said, and I expected nothing else from him.

He walked down the 25 stairs unaided, only holding onto one rail, as anyone would.

A remarkable man. He took out a cigarette packet while we were discussing, and I offered him a cigar. He accepted it and when it went out during the consultation, he simply held it unostentatiously. When I noticed it, I lit it for him, and he indicated his appreciation. His manners, excellent. No attempt to impose his leadership on me.

He realised I was the advocate and treated me with respect but no subservience. Friendly attitude. He must have heard about me from Kapuo.

My impressions of the others:

Kapuo: The more I see of him the more I think of his intelligence and of his character. Always smiling and reasonable. He had already published in the newspapers his sense of shock at the placard, and has expressed it to me too.



*Chief Hosea Kutako
portrayed in 1956 by
the Windhoek photogra-
pher Anneliese Scherz*

*Members of the Herero
Chief's Council at the
home of Dr. Oswin Köhler
in Windhoek, c. 1956.
Chief Hosea Kutako
is sitting in the centre.
Standing to the left of him
is Theofilus Katjuongua.
Sitting in front of Kutako
is Levy Nganjone*



Kefas [chief Kefas Muzuma]: a headman in Kaokoveld.³⁷ There are others too. Pleasant, good natured, intelligent. He keeps a notebook of events and was able to fix dates. He is no different from other local Hereros. Speaks the same language. I thought that these Kaokoveld Hereros (Tjimbass) were a primitive crowd. Kefas is certainly not. They all wear European clothing, collar and tie.

Kausana [Mbirioro Kasaona]. The man who was imprisoned.³⁸ He is about 30. Nothing primitive about him. If he is typical, then these Kaoko Hereros are an intelligent lot. He makes a good impression. Very intelligent. Readily dealt with all my questions. Memory excellent. Remembered the names of all the places he had been taken to in Angola, Mossamedes, Benguela, Luanda, St. Tome.

I certainly knew nothing of these people and others here must be equally ignorant. He cannot write but can read a bit of Herero. Upstanding figure – good physique. For a man who had lived through his experiences for 2 ½ years in Angola, imprisoned in an underground prison and having returned from captivity only at the beginning of this year, he is in remarkably good condition.

Kausana's father: An old wizened small man. Understands the questions put to him and answers intelligently. He is certainly not primitive but is not up to the standard of intelligence of his son.

At the time of his meeting with Goldblatt, *Chief Hosea Katjukurume Kutako* (1870–1970) was the most prominent and internationally most well-known Namibian politician. A biography of Kutako written by someone within the Herero Chief's Council is published in the annex to this book. He had fought and was wounded during the battles between the Herero forces and the German military in 1904, was imprisoned in various German concentration camps, afterwards settling in Windhoek. Goldblatt, as the notes further on show, sought out Kutako, and Kapuuo, on several occasions and questioned them in detail to learn more about the former's experiences during the 1904 war. Kutako's claim to Herero paramountcy came in about 1916/17 when he was elected by some 175 Herero as "regent pending the return of Samuel Maharero"³⁹, the Herero paramount chief living in exile in South Africa and Bechuanaland after his flight in 1904. Kutako's position was confirmed in 1921 when Friedrich Maharero, Samuel's son, proclaimed him as his father's representative and heir in Namibia.⁴⁰ He kept this position until his death in 1970, becoming, especially after World War II, a fierce, yet skilful and resourceful opponent of the South African administration, which led to his being repeatedly faced with government threats and banishment to the rural area. "He refused the incorporation and started petitioning the UN, a work which he [by 1961/2] has been doing for 15 years".⁴¹ He did so not only in conjunction with "his" council, the Herero Chief's Council, and with chiefs from other regions of Namibia, but also, importantly, together with the Anglican Rev Michael Scott from South Africa. Scott had visited Kutako in 1947 and 1948 on behalf of Friedrich Maharero and Tshekedi Khama from Bechuanaland with the aim of informing the chief and other African leaders about the importance of the UN for Namibia's future. When Scott was banished by the South African Government, he stepped up his campaign for the independence of Namibia from the Africa Bureau in London, and reported to the Fourth Committee at the UN throughout the 1950s and 1960s on Kutako's behalf. Scott's invitations to Kutako to visit the UN, or London, in person in the early 1950s were repeatedly frustrated by the South African Government, which only enhanced Kutako's status as a highly prominent, yet invisible African leader and petitioner to the UN for over two decades. As Jan-Bart Gewald argues, Kutako through "petitioning the United Nations ... was transformed from being an obscure tribal leader ... into a figure that served to unite the disparate range of disquiet felt by Africans in Namibia into strident calls for Namibian independence."⁴²



Hosea Kutako (left) and Clemens Kapuuo in the Old Location, 1964. The businessman Johannes Karuaihe is looking on

Around the time of Israel Goldblatt's first meeting with Hosea Kutako in July 1962, the well-known Irish sculptor and artist Frederick Edward ('Frank') McWilliam (1909–1992), who lived and worked in London, visited Windhoek. He had been commissioned by Eleanor Roosevelt, the widow of the late US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to model the head of Kutako for the United Nations Assembly Hall in New York. While in Windhoek, McWilliam took photographs of Kutako at Bishop Mize's residence and from these modelled the head in London.⁴³ Shortly afterwards, Goldblatt's daughter Naomi Jacobson also approached Kutako and suggested a bust of him for a Windhoek institution. Naomi had embarked on a career as a sculptor some years previously and had met McWilliam at her father's home. Kutako readily agreed, and having obtained permission for the sittings in the local Rhenish Mission School, she and Kutako met daily for some time. The bust was finished in early March 1963:

73.63

Omi [Naomi Jacobson] displayed her bust of Hosea at the school (Herero). Present - Hosea, Kapuo, Karawaja [Rev Karuaera], Erwin [Erwin Tjirimuje]⁴⁴, another, and the driver [of Hosea Kutako]⁴⁵, and Rev [Hans Karl] Diehl⁴⁶ and his family and Cynthia [Nolan]⁴⁷.

Hosea was very happy and jolly. Kapuo put Hosea's hat on the model and all laughed. He walks slowly but unaided.

8.3.63

Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku] wants to see the model. He says from [chief] Kamahareros time [i.e. since the 1860s] the Berg Damaras were not treated as slaves. Kamahareros wife (one of them) was a Damara. [Chief] Kambazembis first wife was a Damara and so on with a number of chiefs.⁴⁸

There was intermarriage. Also with Namas. Less so with Ovambos.

Difficulty about Damaras is that they have no recognised leaders. They trust the Hereros. Certainly the Namas (Witbooi) seem to act together with the Chief's Council.

Today, Naomi Jacobson's bust of Hosea Kutako is on display at the National Museum in Windhoek.⁴⁹ Some time around 1965 she also asked Kapuuo to sit for her, which he did, and his bust is now housed at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien in Switzerland.⁵⁰

*Left:
The British sculptor
Frederick ('Frank')
McWilliam with his bust
of Chief Hosea Kutako, c.
1962. The bust of Kutako
was placed in the Assembly
Hall of the United Nations
Organisation in New York*



*Right:
Naomi Jacobson's bust
of Clemens Kapuuo*





*Naomi Jacobson in 2006
with her bust of Clemens
Kapuuo at the Basler
Afrika Bibliographien*

Goldblatt's early meetings with Kapuuo, Rev Karuaera, and Levy Nganjone continued and also included lesser-known members of the Herero Chief's Council and other African politicians:

31-7-62

Yesterday Levy [Nganjone] and three others came to see me. Members (leaders) of SWAPO. One of them is a teacher, Ovambo, passed his school leaving certificate (Matric). Little fellow, about 25, very much alive - intelligent. Don't know his name.

Another stockily built young man, just sat and said nothing. The 4th was a [...] young man with a very intelligent face and spoke English excellently with a fine easy accent. His name — Brian Bassingthwaite.⁵¹ Blacker than any of the others I have seen. His grandfather, on his fathers side, old Bassingthwaite. His mother a Herero (?) His grandfather on his mothers side a German. They wanted to know whether the Post Office were entitled to open registered letters.

The Security Police had secured a letter dd 21.7.62 addressed to UNO and registered by Groenewald,⁵² [Bassingthwaite is the] Secr. of SWAPO. They showed me a copy. It was an appeal to UNO for intervention. Highly exaggerated and a number of statements untrue.⁵³ I did not know Levy who is a member of the Chiefs Council is also a SWAPO.⁵⁴

Ephraim [Vitore]⁵⁵, one of my 4 pupils⁵⁶, is a quiet sleepy looking Herero, but intelligent. He has his school leaving cert[ificate] and is busy studying accountancy with [Fritz] von Seggern, who thinks him intelligent. He works for Grattan, the chemist, and is a member of the Chief's Council. During my consultation with Hosea he walked in to deliver a small package from Grattan.⁵⁷

[...]

Levy [Nganjone]. Teacher. Rhenish Mission School Windhoek - earns £ 32 a month. Supports mother in Waterberg reserve and two boys 17 and 18 years who stay with him in [the] location and go to school. He clothes and feeds them. Has 20 head of cattle at Waterberg. Looked after

by [an] uncle. At present no income from them because [of the] foot and mouth [disease] and drought. He keeps motor car. Costs him ... [sic] His expenditure is [sic]

He pays 3/6 per month for his hut in Old Location, will have to pay £2 in Katutura - employer pays 1£ (who is his employer?).

The women must pay the full £2. He does his own motor repairs, understands engine[s]. Petrol costs him ... [sic].

He borrowed law books from me — wants to study law. I gave him Gardiner & Lansdowne: Criminal Law (2 vols) old edition⁵⁸ and 3 volumes of Maasdorp,⁵⁹ and offered to explain things if he could get together 4 or 5 of the more educated Africans.

[4.7.1964]

I had Kapuo round to the house [Goldblatt's private house on Schwerinsburgweg] a few months ago. He came with Rev. Karuaera — Secretary of the Chief's Council.⁶⁰ We had a general chat on social conditions. We discussed no politics.

I really do not know what is going on amongst them, and what contacts they have with influences outside S.W. Africa beyond what the newspapers indicate from time to time as to their U.N.O. activities, and the struggles going on between the various sections for leadership.

Last week I got Kapuo around alone to explain the Herero language to me. I had [Missionary Gustav] Viehe's grammar.⁶¹ Kapuo explained that he had a teachers certificate, studied in the Free State [of South Africa]. And was a teacher in the local Administration's school, but he had never learnt grammar and none of the teachers had learnt or taught grammar.

He explained a number of points about the language, and kept on repeating that Viehe's grammar could be very usefully consulted in the course of learning the language.

He is pleasant company and likeable. Whether my contact with him is likely to help as a moderating influence in the event of the situation here changing, I do not know.

There is at present a struggle going on between different bodies for leadership.

SWANU, the Liberation Front, Kapuo and the Chiefs Council.⁶²

I know of all this only from the newspapers. I do not wish to be involved in their disputes, and therefore do not seek information from Kapuo.

He knows my attitude and appreciates it. They must fight out their battles among themselves.

Goldblatt's notes here allude to various leadership and party political disputes, including the attempt by SWANU, SWAPO and other minor African political parties to form, in late 1963, an umbrella organisation, the South West Africa National Liberation Front, which, however, never got off the ground.⁶³ Kapuuo's and Karuaera's new party, NUDO, added to these struggles, as did the restrictions and yet necessities of exile politics by the tiny leadership of SWANU and SWAPO, and, inside Namibia, the government's homeland policies which took shape in 1964 after the publication of the Odendaal Report.



*Kaptein Samuel
Witbooi in 1975*

Goldblatt was also to meet another prominent Namibian politician, *Kaptein Hendrik Samuel Witbooi* (1906–1978). As mentioned above, Goldblatt had acted as advocate to Witbooi and Kutako. Witbooi, a son of Izaak Witbooi and a nephew of the legendary Hendrik Witbooi, resided in Gibeon, the traditional headquarters of the Witbooi polity. Upon his succession to Kaptein ("captain"), in 1956 he developed a pronounced national leadership role by increasingly, and often together with Kutako, petitioning the UN. Like Kutako, his politics of protest and resistance straddled community and national concerns and aimed at putting SWA under direct UN supervision. For this, both chiefs were confronted, particularly from the early 1960s onwards, by harsh administrative actions, including efforts to depose them.⁶⁴

[4.7.1964]

A few days ago Kapuuo brought Samuel Witbooi to me at my chambers. Although I had been acting for him in the defamation case [See the entry 30.7.1962 above.] I had never seen him. He came in full regalia.

Instead of the old Witbooi helmet with the white band around it, his helmet was all white with a big white knot at the top.

He seemed very pleased with his outfit.

He looks like his grandfather Hendrik Witbooi.

He is very pleasant and good humoured.

He is regarded as the chief, not only of the Witboois but also of the other small Hottentot [i.e. Nama] tribes — the Bondels, the local Damaras, Goliaths tribe etc.

I told him I had been advocate to Jacobus Christian, the Bondels leaders in 1923, when he was charged with high treason on account of the Bondels rebellion.⁶⁵

He was very surprised. I told him I had a photograph of Jacobus Christian.

He is 58 years old. His people were dispersed at the end of the German-Hottentot [Nama] war 1906. Sent to Tsumeb and others to Kameruns [sic, read: Cameroon]. Only 20 came back from Tsumeb.

I don't think his figures are quite right.⁶⁶ But he is intelligent.

Yet he is dealing with such small numbers here — about 600 members of his tribe.

They talk Nama at home but also Afrikaans. We talked in Afrikaans.

Some three months later, in early October 1964, Goldblatt for the first time met, again through Clemens Kapuuu, the Caprivian politician *Brendan Kangongola Simbwaye*. Simbwaye,⁶⁷ who was born in 1934 in Ndangamwa near Malindi in eastern Caprivi and had obtained a teacher's diploma in Zambia in 1957, together with other Caprivians founded the Caprivi African National Union (CANU) in 1962, which campaigned for the "independence for South West Africa and the Caprivi".⁶⁸ In mid-1964 Simbwaye was arrested during a CANU rally⁶⁹, removed from Caprivi, imprisoned in Grootfontein and Windhoek and then banned to the remote village of Ohopoho (modern Opuwo) in Kaoko. He was later moved to Warmbad in southern Namibia, and, from there to Halt Farm near Welwitchia (Khorixas) in central Namibia. Between his imprisonment and banishment, he was in Windhoek and in touch with Kapuuu, who brought this persecuted man to Goldblatt. Simbwaye has to be regarded as the first long-term Namibian political prisoner after World War II. In the following years, as Goldblatt's notes and the letters between the two men in this volume document, Simbwaye was usually under police surveillance, banned to other parts of Namibia or in prison, until his death in unknown circumstances in Caprivi in 1972.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Simbwaye had in late 1964 become vice-president in absentia of SWAPO after CANU and SWAPO had merged.⁷¹ Goldblatt acted for some time as his legal advisor, and the documents in this book are rare documents from and on a man who in the 1960s was a prominent political prisoner and only today is again being remembered publicly in Namibia.⁷²

The only existing portrait of the Caprivian politician Brendan Simbwaye is to be found on this poster of the late 1960s, issued by SWAPO in Dar es Salaam. Simbwaye is shown with a classic of African Studies, Leo Marquard's The peoples and politics of South Africa. Also depicted are Levy Nganjone, the then already imprisoned Toivo yaToivo and the party's president Sam Nujoma



2. Oct. 64⁷³

Brendan Simbwaye:

1. A teacher in the Roman Catholic school for 7 years – past J.C. [Junior Certificate] and did 2 years teachers' training – speaks English.

Went to Lusaka – [formed the] Caprivi African Party – came back – three times asked Commissioner for permission to hold political meeting – refused – about to hold meeting, arrested and convicted [in August 1964⁷⁴].

Sentenced to pay a fine of £4 on each or 1 month's imprisonment. Before he could get the money for the fine, he was taken to Grootfontein. There he was told that his sentence was for three months. He was taken handcuffed to Windhoek, served 1 month and then released.

Order served on him signed by Minister of Native Affairs [M.D.C. de Wet Nel] to remove himself from Caprivi Zipfel to Ohopoho [modern Opuwo in Kaoko].⁷⁵

Came to see me with Kapuo.

I looked up the law

§ 1 (d) of Proc. 15 of 1928 permits removal.⁷⁶

[In the margin:] They are given R5 each with which to buy blankets, clothes.

Gave each R 4 per month at Ohopoho.

Masubba [Masubiya polity]

Arnold

Kruger [the] Nat. Com.

[Simbwaye is the] Pres. of Political Party. Sec. For Perm. Afr. Affairs

Brendan Simbwaye and Israel Goldblatt were to see each other again two years later, in May 1966, when Simbwaye was in solitary confinement in the Windhoek prison. Like Kapuuo, Brendan Simbwaye repeatedly asked Goldblatt for legal advice, which chapter IV looks at in greater detail.

As for Hosea Kutako, Goldblatt saw him at least two more times though, unfortunately, he recorded very little about these meetings. We nevertheless provide his cryptic notes on these two meetings:

16.5.1967

Chat with Hosea [about the Herero-German war of 1904:]

Samuels' brother. – Leutwein died in SWA.

He was a kind man.

Missionaries.

I [Kutako] was sent [by the Herero chiefs] to various places to warn the people [Herero] not to touch anyone who was not German.

The Boers ran away. Otjiwarongo. But we reassured them ...

Missionaries [kept themselves] on the side of German Govt. Were always found among the German troops. They supplied the troops with information.

Never saw or heard of missionaries helping [the Herero].

Kutako's comments refer to the Herero-German war of 1904, in which Kutako fought as a soldier. It seems that Goldblatt had asked Kutako questions about his involvement at a time when Goldblatt was already researching and writing a history of SWA which he eventually published in 1971. Historians might find some of the cryptic information interesting, such as Kutako's role in warning fellow Herero not to "touch" anyone who was not German at the outbreak of the war in January 1904. As is well known, Herero soldiers were ordered not to kill anyone apart from German men. Kutako also repeats the belief held by Herero that the then Governor of German-South West Africa, Theodor Leutwein, had died in southern Namibia shortly before the outbreak of the war, which facilitated the decision by Herero leaders to start a war against the German colonial army.

31.5.67

My visit to Kutako 31.5.67

About 10 Days ago.

Present Kutako, Kapuo, the chap with the bump — the man who looks after Kutako and brother of Samuel Maharero, ie. son of Kamah[arero].

Here Goldblatt does not record anything else about what seems to be his last visit to Kutako, probably at the home of Clemens Kapuuo. Kutako died three years later, on 20 July 1970, aged 100. He was laid to rest on Sunday, 28 July 1970, followed by a large body of mourners in Okahandja, next to the grave of the precolonial leader Jonker Afrikaner (died 1861).⁷⁷ Goldblatt attended the funeral, together with his daughter Karen, the advocate, and her husband Werner Blum, and the photograph on the cover of this book depicts Goldblatt at the graveside, standing behind Kapuuo and Rev Karuaera amidst the African mourners.

*Members of the Herero
Chiefs Council in the
Old Location, 1964*





Chief Hosea Kutako and members of the Herero Chief's Council in the Old Location, 1964

This was also very probably the last occasion on which Goldblatt and Kapuuo saw each other. Later in the year, Goldblatt retired and moved to live with his daughter Michal and her family in Haifa, Israel. He never returned to Namibia. In January 1971, Kapuuo wrote to him in Haifa:

We are still doing very well here except that I miss you very much. I miss you so much that I often expect to see you when I pass the Johannesburg Building Society's building where your office is.

I am very grateful to you for the legal advice you used to give me. The legal advice was of immense help to the entire Herero nation.⁷⁸

During the 1970s, Clemens Kapuuo's political career rose rapidly as he became the most prominent African politician inside Namibia and, in 1977, the first President of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which, together with the South African Government, attempted to work out a so-called internal settlement for Namibia. All this was followed by Goldblatt only from a distance. From Israel he also watched the increasing resistance politics of African political parties and trade unions, and South Africa's militarisation inside Namibia in the wake of the escalating conflict with SWAPO's People's Liberation Army along the country's northern borders. When Kapuuo was assassinated on Easter Monday, 27 March 1978, in front of his shop in Katutura by unknown men, possibly in a "covert South African operation",⁷⁹ Goldblatt wrote an obituary to a Namibian newspaper which, however, seems not to have been published:

*The businessman
Clemens Kapuuo
inside his new shop in
Katutura in the 1970s*



28th March, 1978

Sir,

The news of Clemens Kapuuo's tragic death came as a great shock to me.

From the time that he first came to see me in 1960 [in fact this was 1961] until my departure for Israel in 1970, our association was of the closest nature.

During that period I suppose there was no other white member of the South West Africa community who was so intimate with him.⁸⁰

[...]

Clemens Kapuuo was a fine character, cultured, dignified, a man of integrity with a sense of humour.

He was not only a natural leader of the Hereros but enjoyed the respect and indeed the cooperation of the members of the other non-white nationalities in the Territory.

There was complete trust between us.

Unfortunately the Administration prevented his contacts with the Ovambos, but even from the remotest parts of the Okavango men who were in trouble could come to him for assistance.

I recollect on one occasion when I was on a visit to the almost blind Hosea Kutako at Clemens' house, how affectionately the old Chief put his hand on Clemens' shoulder saying 'This is my right hand.'

And indeed he was, and it was only natural for him to succeed Hosea in the Chieftainship upon his death.

His further rise to eminence in the political field, after my departure, is well known, but his personal friendship will long remain with me as a treasured memory.⁸¹

So ended the friendship between the elderly advocate and the young African politician, a friendship of an unusual nature in a South African colony divided by apartheid.

From a letter by Clemens
Kapuuo, 28 January 1971

P.O. Box 7043,
Windhoek SWA
28. January 1971

Dear Mr. Goldblatt,

I thank you very very much
for the postcard you sent me.
We are still doing very well
here except that I miss you
very much. I miss you so much
that I often expect to see you
when I pass the Johannesburg
Building Society's building where
your office is.
I am very grateful to you
for the legal advice you used
to give me. The legal advice
was of immense help to the entire
Herero nation.

I am opposed by a handful
of Hereros about 10 men. They are
secretely assisted by the Government
and often hold meetings with
Government officials. Although the
Government rarely allows nonwhites
to leave the country seven of the
few Hereros were allowed in one.

Endnote

- 1 On the Ozohoze see esp. Ngavirue (1997), p.210 and Emmett (1999), p.299.
- 2 On the development of the urban African intelligentsia see the detailed analysis by Emmett in *ibid*, pp.286ff.
- 3 First (1963), p.14.
- 4 See University of Kansas Libraries (UKL), Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms.. An edited and published version can be found in Seek, July 1978, "Clemens Kapuuo, Martyr", p.3. Robert Herbert

Mize (1907–2000) was the Bishop of Damaraland in Namibia until his expulsion in 1968.

- 5 UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, Box 6/1: R.Mize: "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms. His deportation was, according to Mize himself, linked to the final destruction of the Old Location. His successor, Colin O'Brien Winter (1977), pointed out that "They [the police] had said he was promoting terrorism by corresponding with expatriate Namibian blacks in Dar es Salaam." (p.5). On Mize see also *ibid*, p.16, 23f.

- 6 Dr. Georg Gebhardt (died 1976) practised in Windhoek from 1930. He was married, from 1942, to Renate Irmhild Gebhardt (see endnote 20, chapter I).
- 7 Goldblatts details of the architecture of the Roman Catholic Church in Windhoek, apart from describing the daily view from his chambers, have to be understood within the context of the popular belief at the time among local residents that the cathedral was rather special because of its two turrets. Thus the Afrikaans newspaper *Die Suidwes-Afrikaner* in its special issue on Windhoeks "75. birthday" on 12 October 1965, p.31, emphasised that the church building was rare "in South Africa" because of its "two turrets".
- 8 This could be a reference to a letter by Peter F. Nguvauva, published in the *Windhoek Advertiser* on 20 September 1961, p.5, under the heading "There is friction amongst the Hereros". The author of the letter refers, inter alia, to differences between "the Kutako group" and "the Ovambanderu" with regard to the election of Kapuuo as "a Deputy Chief to Kutako" during "a meeting of the Herero and the Mbanderu" in Windhoek in 1960, when the Mbanderu representatives, according to the author, opposed the election of Kapuuo. The author also takes issue with Kutako with regard to the positions of other chiefs, including the Mbanderu chief Munjuku Nguvauva. His letter is a reply to statements by Kutako in the same newspaper of 15 August 1961. On the conflict, the role of Chief Hosea Kutako and the implications for the religious movements amongst Herero, see in particular Sundermeier (1973), pp. 125ff.; also First (1963), p.203.
- 9 This letter could not be found.
- 10 The original legends of two of the drawings are "Kasakeitoa. Der älteste Sohn des alten Banjo" and "Herero Weib in Urtracht". The third drawing is entitled "Bergdamara". Originals in private possession. Paul Sackmann (1870–c 1933), artist and photographer, lived in German SWA between 1909 and 1919. Pers. comm. Ina Hellstern to Dag Henrichsen, 25.1.2008. Chief Mbanjoo, who during the 2nd half of the 19th century resided in north-central Namibia died whilst on flight during the Herero-German war of 1904.
- 11 See Oswin Köhler: "Die Sprachforschung in Südwestafrika". In Drascher et al (c 1961), pp.61-77. Köhler, who was Government Ethnologist in Namibia between 1955-57, had Levy Nganjone as his assistant. He mentions Nganjone's contributions to his research into the tonology of Otjiherero and their joint compilation of a list of Herero farm names on p.71. The latter was published under the sole name of Köhler as "Herero-Farmnamen in Südwest-Afrika". In: *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender*, vol. 29, 1958, pp.95-104. Köhler was a friend to the Windhoek photographer Anneliese Scherz which accounts for her photographs of Nganjone and the Herero Chief's Council that are published in this book.
- 12 Most probably, Goldblatts "Isaac" was Isascar Kambatuku, a member of the Ozohoze of Chief Hoseas group of activists. Pers. info. from Alex Kaputu (Windhoek). No more information could be traced.
- 13 Kolbe, F.: *An English-Herero Dictionary*. Cape Town, 1883.
- 14 Kapuuo's first name was Clement. Conventionally, from the 1960s he was known as Clemens. Pers. comm. from Zed Ngavirue to Dag Henrichsen. The following biographical sketch of Kapuuo relies, amongst others, on the following sources and literature: NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961; UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms.; Davis (1979); Gewald (2004); Kandjii et al (2005).
- 15 UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize: "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.1.
- 16 UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.5. On the commerce of Kapuuo senior in the Old Location see, for example, Nichols (2007), p.71f, footnote 18.
- 17 See Ngavirue (1997), pp.214ff and Nujoma (2001), pp.75ff.
- 18 On Kapuuo's involvement in the formation of modern African political parties and organisations see esp. Ngavirue (1997), pp.209-221.
- 19 Ibid, pp.218f. and Emmett (1999), pp.300, 311.
- 20 Ngavirue (1997), p.253.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 These developments, of course, were much more complex than suggested here. As they do not concern the time period covered in this book, the reader is referred to Du Pisani (1986), in particular pp.286ff.
- 23 On Nganjone see Ngavirue (1997), pp.216ff.; NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961; Shipanga (1989), pp.51, 55 and Nujoma (2001), p.75. Interestingly, Nganjone did not engage Goldblatt as a lawyer, when needed, but Bryan O'Linn. See Shipanga (1989), p.62.
- 24 Pers. comm from Levy Nganjone to Dag Henrichsen, December 1989.
- 25 Ngavirue (1997), p.218.
- 26 Interview by Dag Henrichsen with Rev Karuaera, Windhoek, 6 Septmeber 2006. On Karuaera see also Ngavirue (1997), pp.206, 209.
- 27 Interview by Dag Henrichsen with Rev Karuaera, Windhoek, 6 Septmeber 2006.
- 28 Shortly after the death of Hosea Kutako, the two men parted company when Kapuuo restated his claim as successor whilst Karuaera mobilised for an election among the Herero chiefs. See the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23.9.1970: "Hereros wollen neuen

- Führer wählen", p.1; Kurt Dahlmann: "Sache der Hereros", p.2. Around 1977 Karuaera joined SWAPO. Interview by Dag Henrichsen with Rev Karuaera, Windhoek, 6 September.2006. See also Gewald (2004), p.569.
- 29 Kurt Dahlmann (n.d.) p.105, also p.81.
- 30 Interview by Dag Henrichsen with Rev Karuaera, Windhoek, 6 September.2006. See also Pütz (1987), p.193.
- 31 It seems as if the case received publicity for the first time in an article in the *Windhoek Advertiser* of Wednesday, 11 October 1961. The newspaper reported under the heading "Hosea Kutako's Chief Council Holds Secret Meeting" that at a meeting in the Old Location of some 80 "Hereros, known as the Chief's Council of Hosea Kutako", one point of discussion was "the alleged 'disappearance following the kidnapping of a Herero in the Kaokoveld by the South African authorities.'" The newspaper added that "[a] telegram containing allegations about the murder or kidnapping of this person in the Kaokoveld was sent to the United Nations recently." (p.1).
- 32 On the case and Israel Goldblatt's role as counsel and Lucian Goldblatt as attorney see also Goldblatt's entries below dated 18.8.1962, 4.7.1964. See also the report "Kutako and Witbooi granted time to plead" in the *Windhoek Advertiser*, 6 August 1962. In Kaoko itself, Headmen brought up the case with representatives of the Administration, including the accused Native Commissioner van Zyl. See, for example, NAN, BOP 5 N1/15/4/3, "Notule van vergadering gehou 15 to 18 Mei 1963, p.3f. Thanks to Steven van Wolputte (Leuven) for drawing our attention to this document.
- 33 The Mbanderu Chief Munjuku Nguvauva had opposed Kutako since at least 1960. See endnote 8.
- 34 John Garvey Muundjua, in his early thirties, was a founding member of SWANU and elected to the executive of the party. Ngavirue (1997), pp.214, 218. See also his photograph in the *Windhoek Advertiser* of 26 July 1962. Randolph Vigne described him as an "articulate" man who "is full of Pan Africanist, leftist jargon, and is one of the by-products of the wind of change, rather than a national patriot like Nganjone. I would say that he is courageous and determined." NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 35 For details on the protest march which seemingly involved many women, see the following endnote. Several Africans were afterwards charged with staging an illegal demonstration. See the *Windhoek Advertiser* 10 August 1962, p.1. Earlier on the *Windhoek Advertiser* (on 18 July 1962) had reported (in an article headed "Kutako Sends Another Telegram to United Nations") that according to the town clerk, A.C. Arnold, most of the families which had moved "of their own free will, after their houses had been valued by the Municipality" were "Damaras living in the Damara Section I". (p.1). See also Ngavirue (1997), p. 271, footnote 24.
- 36 See the *Windhoek Advertiser*, Thursday 26 July 1962, p.1. The newspaper quoted from "a signed statement" by Muundjua to the newspaper which said "that they did not wish to make any apologies for the anti-Jewish slogan used during last week's protest march". Muundjua furthermore accused Kapuuo, who "regarded the anti-Jewish placard as a joke" of not having "political principles": "Some of Kapuuo[s] people are trying to argue that it is bad to be anti-Jewish, because they give their business to Jewish legal firms. But, there are also people such as Advocate Botha. He is our lawyer, no matter what our attitude is towards the Nationalist Government. ... We admire him for his wise judgement of affairs, regardless of his race or nationality ... If Kapuuo wants justice in the real sense of the word, then he must be ready to kill his own mother in the interests of justice and a fair deal for all. If he is not prepared to do this, he is not worthy of talking about justice. Our people have been sacked by Jewish firms for their political activities. Even last Friday [20 July], when we staged a protest march some of our people were again sacked for their part in the march. These are the reasons for our slogan: 'Away with Jewish Terrorism'."
- 37 Kefas Muzuma (also Mazuma) in his position as Headman in Kaoko played an important role in the 1960s in articulating dissatisfaction about colonial rule in the region. According to Steven van Wolputte (in an e-mail to Dag Henrichsen, 1 February 2008), he was regarded by the authorities as "very leftist".
- 38 See also the petitions by Kutako and Witbooi to the UN in the annex.
- 39 See the biography of Hosea Kutako in the annex.
- 40 See the biography of Kutako by Gewald (2007).
- 41 See the biography of Kutako in the annex.
- 42 Gewald (2007), p. 111.
- 43 UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.3f.
- 44 Goldblatt's "Erwin" was probably Erwin Tjirimuje, like Kapuuo a teacher, a member of the Ozohoze and a founding member of SWANU. See Ngavirue (1997), pp. 209, 214.
- 45 According to Rev Karuaera (pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen) Chief Kutako's driver was Rehabeama Uazukuani.
- 46 Rev Diehl was from 1947 to 1967 Präses and Chairperson of the Rhenish Mission Society, later the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in SWA and only modestly revised the pro-Apartheid position of his predecessor Heinrich Vedder. See the recently published assessment by Gockel (2010).
- 47 Cynthia Nolan was a friend of the Goldblatt family.
- 48 Inter-marriage amongst the Herero elite was quite common during the 19th and 20th century.
- 49 In the late 1960s, Naomi Jacobson donated the bust, together with the busts of Heinrich Vedder, Curt von Francois,

- Kamaharero (Maharero) and Hendrik Witbooi to the then Alte Feste, today the National Museum of Namibia.
- 50 Some time later, Kapuuo was also modelled by Mrs Gebhardt, who took sculpting lessons with Naomi Jacobson.
- 51 In 1962, Brian Bassingthwaite was Acting Secretary General of the Executive Committee of SWAPO in Windhoek. Kozonguizi mentioned in October 1962 to Ruth First that Bassingthwaite was "supporting SWAPO" and "at least the Schimming group – which is actually opposed to us, particularly Kaukuetu and myself ..." ICS, Ruth First Archives 2/17/3, Kozonguizi to Ruth First, 17.10.1962. Shortly afterwards, in 1963, Bassingthwaite left Namibia for studies at Lincoln and Syracuse University in the USA. See Katjavivi (1986), p.163. See also Davis & Baker (1966), pp.69f., 423.
- 52 The South African intelligence service in Windhoek "had a number of post office mail sorters in our employ", as Piet Swanepoel, a member of the Special Branch of the Windhoek police, reveals in his memoir (2007, p.19), as well as "a Herero linguist". In addition, Swanepoel claims that the Special Branch had "a source" inside the local SWAPO branch who provided the police with "a key to his post box". Ibid, pp.19f.
- 53 See also a similar remark on 'exaggerations' in the statements as observed by Vigne. NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report, 1961.
- 54 See the short biography on Nganjone as outlined above.
- 55 Thanks to Rev Karuaera for identifying Ephraim Vitore who, according to Karuaera, acted as interpreter for the Chief's Council.
- 56 This is a reference to Goldblatt's classes. See chapter III.
- 57 Grattan and his wife were among the few whites, according to Bishop Mize, with whom Clemens Kapuuo had regular contact. UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.2.
- 58 Gardiner & Lansdowne: *South African Criminal Law and Procedure* (6th ed., 1957).
- 59 This is probably A.F.S. Maasdorp: *Institutes of South African Law*, various editions.
- 60 Rev Karuaera remembered (pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen, 2 March 2006) that he and other members of the Chief's Council "sometimes went to his home".
- 61 Viehe, G.: *Grammatik des Otjiherero nebst Wörterbuch*. Stuttgart, 1897.
- 62 See also the document "Political parties" in the annex.
- 63 See esp. Ngavirue (1997), p.243ff.
- 64 On Hendrik Samuel Witbooi see especially Kössler (2006), pp. 235ff.
- 65 On this see above, chapter I.
- 66 On the fate of the deported Witbooi people to the north of the colony, to Togo and to Cameroon see Hillebrecht (2008), pp.154f. The figures provided by Samuel Witbooi are quite correct – less than 40 survivors returned in 1913 from Cameroon! Ibid, p.155.
- 67 On Brendan Simbwaye see especially the writings by Bennett Kangumu (2008), 256ff, and in *New Era*, 25.8.2006. According to Kangumu CANU had existed as an underground movement since the late 1950s, although it was not formally established until September 1962. The Odendaal Commission in many ways accelerated the formal formation of CANU in Caprivi. Kangumu (2008), pp. 252, 256.
- 68 As spelled out in the party's 1964 constitution. Ibid, p.257.
- 69 On the arrest of Simbwaye and two other CANU officials, Alfred Tongo Nalishuwa and Vernet Maswahu, see ibid, pp.273ff.
- 70 In 1972 and in part at the request of the local Damara Council in Khorixas, Simbwaye received a travel permit to visit Caprivi for 6 month. "What is known is that he disappeared while on a visit to his home area and presumed dead but no one knows how he died and whether he was buried at all". Ibid, p. 284.
- 71 On the controversy regarding the merger of CANU and SWAPO see esp. the detailed discussion by Kangumu in ibid, pp.289ff.
- 72 The square of the Government Park in Windhoek is named after Brendan Simbwaye, as is, more recently, a Namibian defence vessel.
- 73 Simbwaye was issued with an order on 24. September 1964 and immediately went for advice to Goldblatt. According to Kangumu (2008, p.273) Simbwaye repudiated the legitimacy of the court to convict him and emphasised that he would only recognise the authority of the UN.
- 74 The background to this is sketched by Kangumu in ibid, p. 272f.
- 75 On this order see ibid, p.276.
- 76 Native Administration Proclamation No 15 of 1928 for South West Africa. Section d of para. 1 permitted the "removal under ministerial order to another part of the territory in the event of behaviour amounting to a 'serious' undermining of authority". Ibid, p.271.
- 77 See the extensive photo feature on the funeral in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 July 1970.
- 78 See the full letter in the annex.
- 79 Gewalt (2004), p.575, who provides the only detailed study to date on the assassination of Kapuuo and a discussion of possible actors and theories.
- 80 Arguably, Bishop Mize but also the chemist Grattan were other whites with closer or regular relations with Kapuuo.
- 81 See the full letter in the annex.

III "They should understand the system under which they are living": Israel Goldblatt's classes and lectures

Some time in 1962, Kapuuo and other young African politicians asked Israel Goldblatt to introduce them to the fields of law and administration. Their request reflected, in the first instance, their severely restricted opportunities for study. With only six secondary schools for Africans in the entire SWA in the early 1960s, few pupils gained the matriculation certificate (16 in 1964), and only a handful of state bursaries were available for further studies in South Africa. Only four teacher training centres existed at that time: the state-run Augustineum in Okahandja mentioned above, the Döbra centre outside Windhoek run by the Catholic Church, and two institutions in northern Namibia run by the Finnish Missionary Church.¹ For some of the men visiting Goldblatt, as teachers, the only practical possibility for advanced studies were correspondence courses which, Clemens Kapuuo, for example, followed. The instruction they sought from Goldblatt could also have formed part of the groundwork undertaken by the young politicians and the Herero Chief's Council in order to establish their own modern political party. This they did, in 1964, by founding NUDO, with Kapuuo and Karuaera as its prime movers.

The following entries in Goldblatt's notes focus on the lectures he gave to the young politicians and the conversations which developed during the classes, starting some time between March and June 1962, as Goldblatt explains on 30 June 1962:

30.6.62

Since the previous note [of 2 March] I have been giving lectures weekly to Kapuo, Rev. Karawa [Karuaera], Levy [Nganjone] and Ephraim [Vitore] at the church hall of the Native Church [of the Rhenish Mission in Church Street in the centre of Windhoek]. I asked the Education Dept. to give me the use of a room which would have practically put the lectures under the Administration's auspices. But they did not wish to do so as it would not fit in with their curriculum for Natives.

So I arranged with [Rev] Diehl of the Rhenish Mission to let me have the present room which he did.

The lectures are on public administration so that they should understand the system under which they are living – the constitution of the Assembly, how it is elected, what are its powers, the Executive Committee and its constitution and powers, the Administration, the Supreme Court and Judges – how appointed, the Constitution of England and America. I lent Kapuo Beard's book 'The Republic'² and he is very interested in it.

They are all interested in the lectures and are as intelligent as many educated whites. We discussed population questions. They distrust the figures given of the African populations of the Old Location and Katutura by Potgieter, the superintendent.³ They scoff at his figures.

This led on to the Union Govt.'s figures given to the League of Nations which showed that from 1921–39 the population was stationary for the Hereros and Namas.

I mentioned the theory advanced by the Native Affairs that this was due to a vow taken by the Herero women at the end of the Herero war ([19]04–05) not to bear children, and I asked them whether they knew anything about this theory.⁴ They had not heard of it but they had heard that the Germans had sterilised Herero women at the time. I asked Kapuo to find out from Hosea (92) and other old people.

[...]

He [Kapuo] says in regard to education that formerly Hereros were sent to the Union for education, including Kapuo's elder brother and Karuaera.

The younger people are not interested in secondary education. There is no matriculation course in the Augustineum or anywhere in South West, for Africans.

Only school leaving certificate which does not permit of entry into university.

The lectures and classes continued throughout 1962. Inevitably, they involved discussions of daily occurrences that pointedly exemplified the web of apartheid laws and other restrictions which Africans had to face on a daily basis and against which they fought in various ways. The classes also seem to have opened up room for discussions of broader topics of concern, not only by the Africans, but also by Goldblatt, touching on structural issues of the colonial society in which they all lived, albeit on different sides of the apartheid line. From Goldblatt's notes, one senses a genuine interest which accompanied such discussions, which otherwise rarely took place in the Territory.

30/8/62

I asked Kapuo, Karuera [Karuaera], Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku], how I would be received if I went to Aminuis [Reserve] to see how things were there. They said 'the people would first want to know whether you were a Government servant. Next what your nationality was, then what your language was?' If I go I should be accompanied by one of them. Actually I want to see the rural Herero.

I suggested law classes. I want Namas and Damaras too, but they laughed at the idea of Namas. They were not educated and they did not understand ENGLISH [sic]. Damaras possibly. Ovambos also.

They are very keen on Education, but not the Government's system. They can't become doctors. No science is taught even at Augustineum. No matriculation exam. – only Senior Cert. [Certificate] Dr. Miller of [the] Ed[ucation] department has been giving extra classes in Mathematics, but these have dwindled to a couple. Kapuo thinks this is so because the Maths. is not taught at school.

They are determined not to accept financial help from the Union, only from S.W.Adm because this comes from S.W. Revenue. I explained to them and wrote a memo that Native affairs generally paid for by Union Govt. – we make a contribution – but education and public health are S.W. African subjects and embrace Native education and health and are paid for out of S.W. Revenue.

They send petitions and cables to U.N.O. in [the] name of Hosea, Witbooi and S.W.A.P.O., but Witbooi does not really know what is happening, and does not see these messages. S.W.A.P.O. (possibly)

S.W.A.P.O. is linked to Chief's Council.

Levy is one link. He is organising sec. of S.W.A.P.O. and is on [the] Chief's Council.

5.9.62

Levy came to me. He is getting married in a month's time and has got leave from school.

He wants to use this time for finishing his book of Herero phrases in English.

He needs a large typewriter, but I told him I cannot assist him with money.

We discussed the expulsion of 23 students from the Augustineum.⁵ Apparently they took a dislike to one of the teachers and laughed at him and ridiculed him in the dining room. For this they were expelled. I explained that the correct procedure for students who had a grievance against a teacher was to complain to the principal.

He [Levy Nganjone] did not know what their grievance was based upon. If their conduct was deliberate and planned, I thought that the extreme step of expulsion may have been justified.

But I suspect that there is a political basis for their conduct.

Some of the students are 20 and over. I then discussed with him the possibility of getting about 8 Africans together to whom I could lecture on law – criminal law.

I gathered from Isaac's reaction a few days ago that the Namas would not fit in – they only understand Afrikaans.

Levy sees no reason why all the Africans, Namas, Hereros, Damaras and Ovambos should not participate if they could understand English.

From this we move on to the feeling towards Germans and Afrikaners.

He said that there is no feeling against the Germans – but they 'despise' the Afrikaner. They feel that the Afrikaner is lower in culture than the German. He says that the Afrikaner farmers (not all but many) were too poor to pay their labourers proper wages and when the latter came for their wages they would be kicked and assaulted! He drew attention to the fact that the Afrikaner wanted to be called 'Baas' [Master] but the German was addressed as 'Mister', a distinction showing the crudeness of the Afrikaner which strikes the African.

He says the English, Germans and Jews are all regarded by the Africans as superior in culture and character to the Afrikaner.

The African sees the Afrikaner as the author of his 'oppression'. 'When' the country receives its independence, Afrikaans will not be the accepted language but English.

Leaving alone the value of his sentiments, he is a very intelligent fellow.

3.12.61. [read 1962!] The Herero Council (Chiefs)

About a month ago six members [of the Herero Chief's Council] came to give me a photograph of Hosea, as sculptured by McWilliam about a year ago.⁶ This is the piece presented to the UNO.

These 6 consisted of Kapuo, Rev. Karuaera, Levy [Nganjone], Ephraim [Vitore], Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku] and one other.

On Friday evening I gave Kapuo, Rev. Karuaera and Ephraim (Levy was absent) my 8th lecture.

This time on the powers of the officials of the administration and also how the money is found for running the state.

They appear to have found these lectures interesting.

I do not know how much has sunk in. But some of the questions they have asked show that they are intelligent.

E.G.

(1) They asked how SW Africa benefited from the collection of customs by the Union Govt.

*The photograph of the
bust of Hosea Kutako
by Frederick ('Frank')
McWilliam given to
Israel Goldblatt*



(2) How an accused who was unrepresented could appeal against his sentence.

(3) What is the difference between an Ordinance and a Proclamation.

At times I think I may be talking above their heads and at other times I feel they know much of what I am telling them.

At that point the classes seem to have stopped. At least there is no further mention of such meetings in Goldblatt's papers. His classes gave rise to speculation among whites as to the nature of his relationship with the African nationalists. Teaching issues of law and administration touched on the very foundations of rule and power and obviously gave rise to suspicion. As chapter V will show, this led to a rumour circulating through the white community that Goldblatt, as he put it, was engaged "in a plot to overthrow the government". His conclusion: "It's all fantastic!"⁷

Endnotes

- 1 See Cohen (1994), pp.108ff for a comprehensive assessment of the limited training possibilities existing in Namibia at the time.
- 2 Charles A. Beard: *The Republic. Conversations on fundamentals*, New York (1943), which deals with America's historical constitutional experiences.
- 3 Mr Potgieter was the Superintendent of Locations in the early 1960s.
- 4 This theory was popularised by the physician and South African member of parliament W.P. Steenkamp in the 1930s. See the discussion of it in the context of colonial control mechanisms and colonial fantasy by Krüger (1999), p.154f.
- 5 According to the *Windhoek Advertiser* of Friday 17 August 1962, 19 pupils were suspended at the Augustineum

Training College in Okahandja after an incident involving a student, Simon Hiskia, who defied "the authority of his teacher." This led to the involvement of other students, and the principal, D.P. Roux, ultimately leading to the 19 students' suspension. At that stage, a delegation of "five Native political leaders" sought an interview with the principal. "The deputation was headed by Gerson Veei [Veii], who was one of the 23 Natives who was found guilty in the Windhoek Magistrates' Court this week of staging an illegal procession. He was also named by the Magistrate, Mr. J.H. Krige, as one of the ringleaders of the demonstration which was broken up by the police using teargas on July 20." (p.1.)

6 On this see above, chapter II.

7 See below chapter V.

IV "Completely distrustful of the Government": providing legal advice and assistance

Israel Goldblatt's notes are those of a lawyer, who, as mentioned in chapter I, took on the defence of a Namibian political leader right at the beginning of his career, when in 1923 he defended Kaptein Jacobus Christian on a charge of high treason. In the early 1960s, having won Kapuuo's trust, he became a regular advisor not only to Kapuuo but also to many other Africans who were confronted with apartheid laws' crippling effects on every aspect of their lives.

Goldblatt's notes reflect a careful approach to the cases he dealt with. As with his clear analyses of the international legal situation of the Territory, he had strong views but abstained from overt political action. In those cases which involved administrative restrictions, he preferred to approach the responsible officials first, and very often found them helpful, but if necessary, he challenged them if he felt his clients were being prejudiced by their decisions. He acted with determination when he heard that Simbwaye was in solitary confinement in Windhoek and insisted, despite an initial refusal, on consulting with him in gaol.

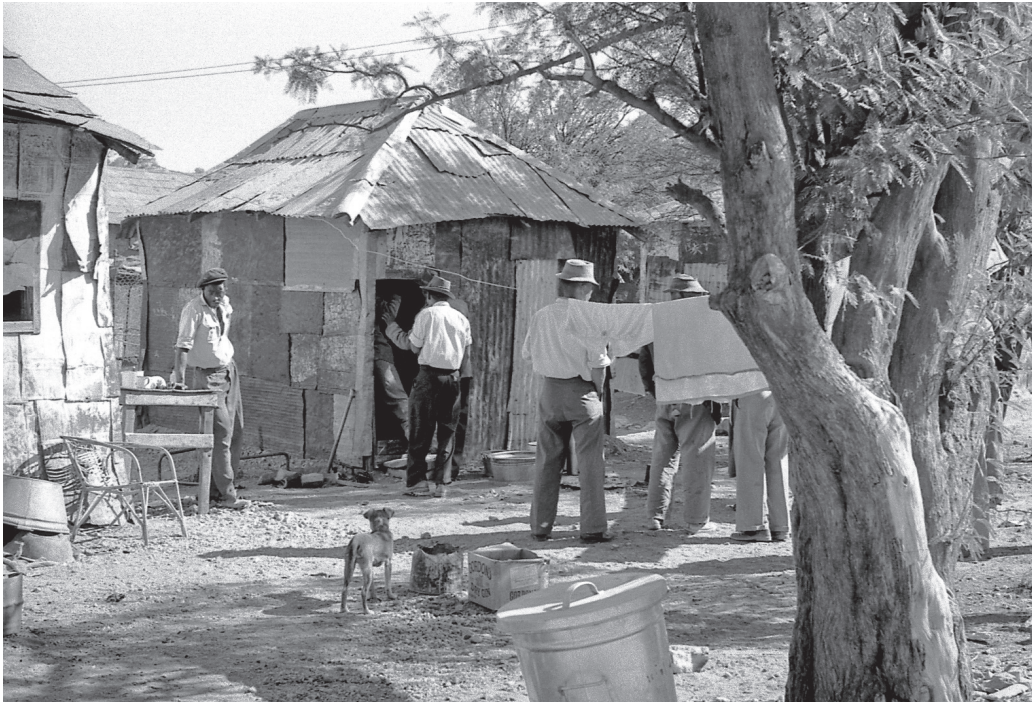
It appears that Goldblatt never declined to listen and act on behalf of those who knocked at his door, whatever their background. And these people were often — as the following notes suggest and despite their focus on his dealings with the African politicians — humble men and women who experienced all sorts of daily restrictions by the racist laws of the Administration. At the same time, Goldblatt's notes indicate that Kapuuo, often himself harassed by government policies, also acted as a counsellor in respect of the (legal) hardships suffered by ordinary women and men.

31.1.1962

Marriage and Morals

I told Kapuo of the Herero woman who came to me a few months ago. She had 7 children by 4 different fathers to none of whom she had been married. She looked a respectable woman and talked well. She was the Bishop's washerwoman.¹ Her trouble was that the fathers did not support their children. These children were scattered. Some were with her mother at Epukiro. The Native Affairs Depart. to whom she had appealed said they were prepared to bring pressure to bear upon the fathers provided she went to live at Epukiro reserve. She did not want to go to Epukiro. I saw the second in command of the Native Affairs and he was very sympathetic, and assured me that no pressure would be brought to bear upon her to go to Epukiro although there she could be better looked after. He promised to bring pressure upon the fathers.

I told this to Kapuo and asked about the marriage customs and illegitimacy. He said some Hereros were married, but most were not. Because of the break-up of tribal customs by this Administration no one frowned upon illegitimacy. There was no real family life. Parents had no influence over their children.



In the Old Location, 1959

As to succession on death, the family come together and share out. The headmen play a part here. NOT QUITE CLEA [sic]

30.6.1962

Last week Kapuo came to see me to tell me that he had received a message from Waterberg Reserve that the Govt. were offering mealie meal to the people (Herero) on account of their distress.

He wanted to know whether the funds for mealie meal came from the Union Govt. or from the administration.

He was going to find out from the Native Affairs. If from the local Administration they would accept it. If from the Union they would starve, rather than accept.

They refuse to accept any assistance from the Union Govt.

They are completely distrustful of the Govt., even the local Adm[inistration], police and all.

He was emphatic that they do not want the Bantu Education System of the Union, and either the Adm. must be forced to give them their own system or must be forced to go.

I tried to urge him to try to encourage the younger fellows to become educated - become professional men, like doctors, dentists. That they must make the effort among themselves. He seemed interested although it was very difficult without facilities.

Set in a broader context, Israel Goldblatt's observations and Kapuuo's remarks about the Africans' distrust of all government politics echoed what Ruth First noted in the same year (1962):

African South West Africa has an undying distrust of everything that the South African government does and says. It conducts a silent and undeclared war of non-cooperation. Offers of money for development are rejected because the Africans fear that the money is conditional on their acceptance of apartheid. Africans refuse to move from the tin-can slum of Windhoek [i.e. the Old Location] to the new Katutura township; the new housing is better, but it is apartheid housing. ... [They] cannot see in new townships or clinics any attempt by the authorities to change an inherently unjust system. ... [They are] distrustful of a government that seeks to ridicule and weaken and if possible destroy all African political organization.²

The following notes are in many ways variations on this overall theme of hardship, distrust, resistance and attempts by the Africans to build their own political organisations.

18.8.62.

This morning Lucian [Goldblatt, Israel Goldblatt's son and an attorney] left with Kapuo, Mberura [Mbirioro Kasaona] and pilot by plane for Ohopoho [modern Opuwo] to interview a witness in Hosea's case [against van Zyl, see the entry 30.7.1962 in chapter II].³ The Administration will not bring this man down here (Employed by Native Commissioner in Kaokoveld) so the plane had to be hired for £100. A lot of money for the Africans to pay.

20.9.62

Bryan Bassingthwaite sees me. He is Secretary of SWAPO, about 30. Mixture of white and Damara. Speaks English very well and is an intelligent moderate balanced fellow. He was disturbed about the publication in Windhoek Advertiser of an article in a Cairo journal.⁴ This attributed to Paul Bassingthwaite information about the demonstration last month (which ended in the conviction of SWANU supporters) which were wholly distorted. He wanted to know what he should do. The Cairo article was written by the SWAPO leader there.

I advised him to write to W.A. [Windhoek Advertiser] disowning authenticity, and to write to Cairo to tell them not to write this sort of stuff. [In the margin:] He has not yet done so. He says there is no real leadership in SWAPO as there is in Hereros with Hosea. Apparently there are no [?] 90,000 followers. The different tribes do not work harmoniously together.

In the Old Location, 1959



26/9/62

Kapuo came to see me with Rev. Kharwaira [Karuaera]. He tells me that last week Hosea received a letter from Blignaut requesting as a favour [from Hosea] that Kapuo should be allowed to reside at Epukiro reserve. This was declined.

A few days afterwards Kapuo gets a letter from the Director of Education appointing him principal of a new school at Otjihaenene in Epukiro Reserve⁵ as from 1 Oct. 1962. Hosea and Karawayo [Rev Karuaera] went to interview Mohr (Dir. of Ed.) [J.D. Möhr, director of education] pointing out that Kapuo could not leave Hosea, but Mohr said that Kapuo had been Hosea's right hand man long enough and insisted upon Kapuo going. This is significant because 3 months ago the Education Dept. expressly gave Kapuo permission to act as assistant to Hosea. Kapuo then sent in a doctors certificate to say that he requires medical treatment. The nearest doctor to Epukiro is 170 miles away. Kapuo has had gall trouble for a long time. He is now waiting for the Departments reply, and says he will resign if they want to shift him. I advised him not to resign, but to await their dismissal of him. It looks very much as if the Education Dept is co-operating with Native Affairs to get Kapuo away from Windhoek.

10.X.

Kapuo tells me that he saw the Ed. Dept. and they indicated that they were not prepared to depart from their decision. He thereupon resigned. This was closely followed by the Native Affairs (Municipality) asking him where he was born, how long he had been in Windhoek etc. The object is clearly to get him away. He explained that he has been in Windhoek for over 15 years. He wanted exemption as a headman, i.e. sub to Hosea. But they refused that. He has to see v d Walt (Nat. Aff.)⁶ next week to see what their attitude is. He will presumably require a permit like anyone else to stay in the [Old] location.

24.X.

He has not told me the result. But he came with another man – Chief's Council from Aminuis. The Govt. having already innoculated [sic] the native cattle there, wanted to do it again for [the] foot and mouth [outbreak]. The Africans do not want to allow this because they lost a number of their cattle at the first innoculation [sic]. Kapuo says the people concerned owned 10, 12 or 8 head and cannot afford to lose any more.

I advised him to explain this to Blignaut or v.d. Walt and to ask whether they will not be compensated for losses. He thought the advice was good. I told him that the course which the Adm. proposed was doubtless required by the Veterinary Dept. and that I had no doubt that [the veterinarian] Dr. Watt⁷ was perfectly honest in his intentions. Kapuo seemed to think that Adm. were anxious to compel these small owners to look for work.

[3.12.1962]

Two days ago Ephraim [Vitore] came to me. He had been dismissed from his job. He had been assistant to an oculist. He fitted the lenses into the frames. Earned £4 a week.

He said that he did not know why he had been dismissed.

This was not true. He said that the owner of the business who lived in Cape Town ordered his dismissal.

Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku] tells me another story. The Windhoek oculist found one or more letters in envelopes addressed to U.N.O. He wanted to know the contents and whether Ephraim had written them. Ephraim said 'No' and refused to show the contents. So the oculist got the Cape Town man who was really a friend of Ephraim's, to dismiss him.

30.12.62

About a month ago Bryan Bassingthwaite came to see me. He is as black as the ace of spades and speaks English excellently — offspring of the 1st Bassingthwaite. Mother, Herero, I believe. He wanted advice from me. The Windhoek Advertiser had reproduced a Cairo journal's article purporting to come from a Bassingthwaite. It is a scurrilous thing. He recognises that it is, but says he did not write this article. His article was factually correct and this has been twisted about for propaganda purposes. He is Secretary of S.W.A.P.O.

He is disturbed about the consequences to himself. I told him that he should write a short note to the W.A. [Windhoek Advertiser] denying that he wrote the article, and that he should write to the S.W.A.P.O man in Cairo protesting against their distortion. Whether he wrote to Cairo I do not know. No denial appeared in the W. A. He has since escaped from S.W.A. together with some others for Bechuanaland and Tanganyika.⁸

Kapuo came to see me in regard to hawkers' licences in locations. He is as usual accompanied by three others (presumably of the Chief's Council). I seem to be regarded as an Hon. legal advisor.

Yesterday 29.12.1962 he came to me in regard to our law of divorce. What happens if a man ill-treats his wife, beats her. I explained malicious desertion and judicial separation.

According to their system the headman tries to settle the disputes with a view to reconciliation. He realizes that no legal consequences can result from the Headman's decisions. He says that the Native Commissioner can pronounce divorce (I must look into this.)

He says that Hosea was called into consultation with [A.H.] du Plessis, the Ex. Co. [Executive Committee] member on schools to be constituted in the Aminuis Reserve [where Hosea Kutako had his main residence]. On notification of this invitation, Hosea had replied that he would only come if Blignaut the Native Commissioner and v.d. Walt, the Assistant N. C., were not present. The reason is that because these two had not treated Hosea and Kapuo with respect, the Hereros refused to have anything to do with them. Hosea's condition was accepted. Blignaut and v.d. Walt were not present. The Education Dept. was represented. Du Plessis wanted the Hereros' cooperation in the erection of day schools in Aminuis. Kapuo was the real spokesman for the Hereros.

The Hereros were against this system. The children would have to walk miles to school. They insisted on schools and hostels. Du Plessis turned this down (presumably on grounds of expense) and when Kapuo maintained his ground, du Plessis abruptly walked out, leaving the others there. Kapuo complained to the officials at the meeting of du Plessis' behaviour. He says he has not had many meetings with du Plessis, but on all occasions, except this last, he was polite.

He told me of his complaint to the Magistrate that the junior officials (municipal) at the Pass Office bullied the Africans. The main culprit was present, and said nothing. But his behaviour improved after this. His complaint to the Magistrate (Hager)⁹ followed upon my recommenda-

tion that that was his best course. I pointed out that Hager was a reasonable man, and would treat his complaints sympathetically.

At the same time he should realise that Hager was also a Government Official and had to carry out Government policy whether he agreed with it personally or not.

Kapuo appreciated this.

I think I have some influence with him and through him with the other Hereros. I do not interfere or offer advice in any of the intertribal disputes or conflicts, e.g. S.W.A.P.O., S.W.A.N.U., Chief's Council.¹⁰

26.1.63

Kapuo and others came to me the other day. They had an interview with Du Plessis about the decision of the Administration that no more new pupils were to be admitted to the schools at the old location.

In reply to the direct question, du Plessis said there was no accommodation. Kapuo asked whether there was any other reason — meaning 'You want to put obstacles in our way so as to force us to go to Katutura', but du Plessis said 'No'. The children could go to Katutura. Kapuo said they would not send the children to Katutura.

Kapuo said 'Why do you insist upon your apartheid, this is the very question that is before the International Court at the Hague'. Du P[lessis] did not reply.

'What should they do?'

I told them that one of the parents should write a letter to the Administrator asking why his child is not allowed in?

This would indicate whether du P[lessis] was expressing his own view or the Ex. Co's. [Executive Committee's].

After that we could decide whether to take proceedings in court, after we had offered to provide accommodation. I should explain that Bishop Mize [of the Anglican church] had offered to provide one room free.

As an excuse for not sending the children to Katutura Kapuo told du P[lessis] that it would be too expensive with the parents living at the Old Loc[ation].

Kapuo told me that even if the Adm. paid for transport, the children would not be sent to Katutura.

Two days ago Kapuo came to see me. They had not yet sent the letter, but the Inspector of Schools had now told the Principal of the school at Old Loc. that he would admit 60 new pupils to [the Anglican school] St. Barnabas and 45 to Rh[enish] Mission.¹¹ I advised Kapuo that in view of this change of attitude, there was no point in sending the letter, nor in court proceedings. As it was clear that it was now only a question of accommodation and not a manoeuvre to force change over to Katutura, he should now approach Education Dept. with the offer of

Bishop Mize, and also the offer of another room to accommodate the balance of about 40 more pupils (total number of new pupils is about 150).

Actually when he came to me a few days ago his first query was whether there was any obstacle to them establishing their own school. I told them that in terms of the Ed. Ord. [Education Ordinance] the Administration could close down any such school on the ground that it was not in the interests of the inhabitants.¹²

The discussion with Du Pl[essis] turned to politics. Du Pl. said that before the white man came they were all barbarians. Everything that existed today was due to the white man. Kapuo was able to hold his own on this ground.

I urged him to consider some pronouncement not merely that they had no grudge against the white man only against those who favoured apartheid (this from Karawaya) nor that they recognise that the white man must also live in the country (This was said by them some time ago) but that say the German farmer in Grootfontein has no reason to fear that he would be dispossessed of his farm — at all events that confiscation would be compensated.

He was going to consider this.

27/3/63

Kapuo, Karawaye [Rev Karuaera] and two others brought along two Hereros who had applied for work at Sam Cohen's.¹³ Jackie Cohen had told them he would not employ them if they stayed in the Old Location.

I assured Kapuo that although this had happened Jackie would stop this. (I had spoken to him that it was not Cohens business where employees stayed and that he should not interfere with the Old Location - Katutura dispute - Jackie agreed.) Kapuo thanked me and was satisfied.

He also raised the question of a young Herero aged 15 whose mother had died. The Herero had been born and lived on a farm with his mother and some Damaras. He wanted to stay with the Damaras but his mothers' relatives wanted him to come to them. The Magistrate was dealing with the matter, with the assistance of the Social Worker. I explained the difficulties in these matters of custody and on their request agreed to see the Social Worker to urge that the boy should be placed where he could at least get some education. He could not even speak Otjiherero. They certainly do interest themselves in social and tribal matters. They are good chaps, sensible, moderate and intelligent. But they are adamant about their rights and do not trust any white officials.

Isaac [Isascar Kambatuku] had been to see me the day before. Well built, handsome and always smiling. He misses two bottom front teeth — a tribal custom and this affects his speech. He talks English with absolute smiling confidence and with plentiful gestures but I can scarcely understand anything he says.

He wanted to know whether the Government could prevent Kerinas [Mburumba Kerina's] wife from coming in to SWA with Kerina. She married him in USA.¹⁴

As these notes make clear, the Old Location issue was a recurrent theme in the conversations between Kapuo and Goldblatt. Goldblatt's writings provide many new details about the

aftermath of the 10 December 1959 shootings and the ongoing resistance by Africans who were threatened with relocation to the newly built township of Katutura. Until the mid-1960s several thousand people continued to live in the Old Location, despite threats of various kinds by the municipality and local businesses. From Goldblatt's notes, including those of an interview between Goldblatt and Kapuuo in the late 1960s, which we publish in the annex, it transpires that not only were schools and hostels closed down, but the graveyard was also closed. These actions were followed by the shutdown of services like refuse collection and water provision. Individuals, in turn, were faced with expulsion to the Reserves. Kapuuo often intervened, and he raised these cases, along with other incidents reflecting the very ugly faces of apartheid, with Goldblatt:

6.4.63

Two weeks ago Kapuo & Co. came to see me on the question whether the Mun. Council could insist on burials of 'old location' deceased in Katutura Cemetery.

The Council claimed that the cemetery in 'old location' was nearly full. Kapuo said there was sufficient room to extend the cemetery. I told him that it was the Council's duty to provide facilities for burial, but I could see no reason why the 'old location' dead should be buried in Katutura to which the relatives of the deceased and the people of 'old location' which was the home of the deceased, were opposed.

This seemed to be part and parcel of the main contest 'old location' versus Katutura and was a weapon which was being used by the Council to make things difficult for 'old location' protagonists. I took no sides in the contest. They must fight it out.

Last week Kapuo & Co came to see me in regard to the legality of the authorities in requiring 3 Hereros to leave for the Reserve.



*In the Old Location,
January 1960*

Case (1). A young man of 22 was in Standard One in School. He had [been] told by the Education Dept. that he must leave and attend night classes.

This meant that he would have to work during the day. When he applied for a permit to seek work this was refused by the Authorities in terms of Sec. 5. 1 (d) of Urban Areas Proc.

[The] Herero had been born in Reserve; was under the guardianship of [his] uncle in Reserve and when [the] uncle came to Windhoek Herero accompanied him aged 10. Had stayed with his uncle ever since.

Case (2) Herero passed Std. 6 and wanted to go to Doebera to continue studies, but had no proper clothing, wanted to work for a year, earn money, and go to Doebera next year. Refused a work permit.

Case (3) Did not enquire facts.

Appeal lodged to Chief Native Commissioner but turned down.

I rang up v.d. Walt (Assist. to Chief Nat. C.). He explained that Ch. Nat. Com. [Chief Native Commissioner] only had jurisdiction to hear appeal when the appellant was already in employment and was ordered to Reserve. This is right. I then asked Dreyer, the Native Affairs man at Mag [Magistrate's] Office whether he would agree to these men staying over for 2 or 3 days to let me look into the law. He was agreeable if de Wet, Manager of Locations would agree. I rang up de Wet and he refused.

I discussed the situation with Kapuo et al. They were dissatisfied and said that this sort of thing would make it difficult for them to control the Hereros affected.

9/6/63

About two months ago Levi [Nganjone] came to me for advice on what could be done about a native who had been killed while on a lorry coming from Gobabis district. He thought the man had been murdered. I advised him to go to the place and get witnesses and take them to the police so that they could give evidence at the inquest. A fortnight after Kapuo came to me [and said = deleted] he was present at the inquest. The doctor and policeman had sworn that the man had had his neck broken by an overhead wire between two gate posts. Kapuo said that on the evidence of natives this was not true. He must have been murdered. Could there not be an exhumation and a re-examination by another doctor. I went to [the] A.G. [Attorney General]. He refused unless we could get some more evidence on affidavit to justify it. I suggested to Kapuo to get certain natives in for my examination. This was the last I heard of the matter.

About a month ago Kapuo wanted to know whether they could erect a tombstone in the local cemetery [of the Old Location] to record the deaths of those who were shot in Dec. 1959.

He gave me the inscription. It was to the effect 'To the memory of those who were murdered by the forces of Apartheid. Their blood will sink in, not in vain, and will inspire others'. It was in English.

I said that according to the Municipal Ord. [Ordinance] the cemeteries were under the control of, and belonged to the Municipality and they could not put up a tombstone with any inscription

without the consent of the Superintendent, who would certainly refuse consent and remove it if erected without consent.

They did not erect it. [In the margins a * makes a cross-reference to the entry 6.7. below.]

A week ago they came to me. Could they have about 25 people meeting in a private house to talk about things. I interpreted the Municipal regulation as prohibiting a public meeting without the consent of the Superintendent. If the public did not have access to the meeting and they merely had a number of selected people in a private house, they did not require consent.

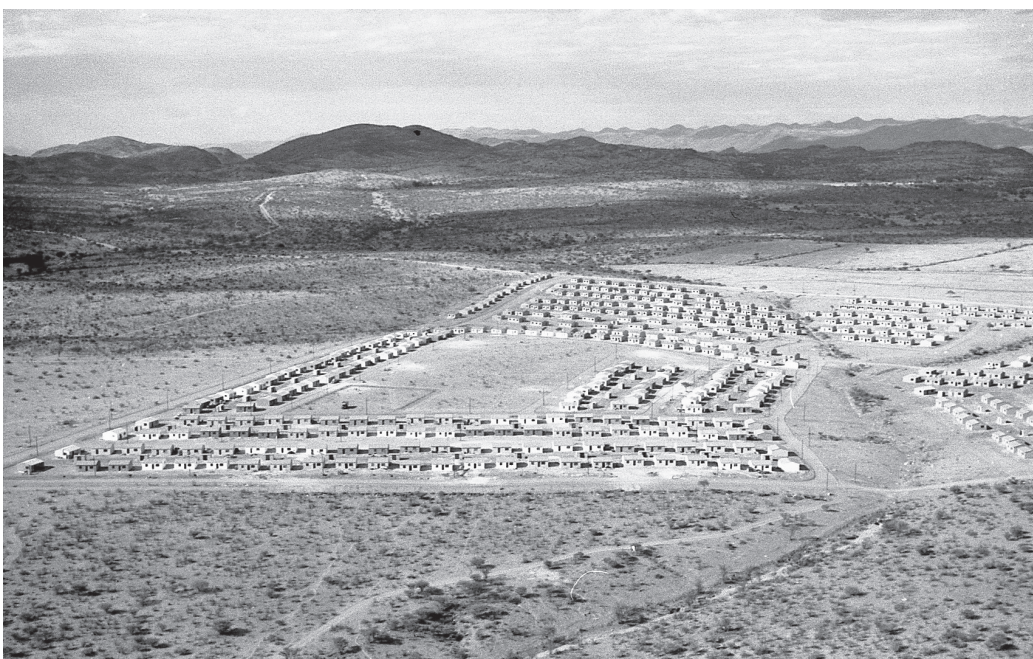
A few days ago they wanted to know whether it was necessary for visitors to a reserve during the weekend to report to the Superintendent. The difficulty was that the visitors may wish to visit someone 15 miles from the Superintendents office which was closed on Sat. afternoon. The delay would effectively cut short the time of their visit.

* 6.7. They did erect it. And after it was erected someone removed it. They sent cables to U.N.O. charging the govt with theft, because they said no one else would have removed it. They also sent copies of the cable to the newspapers here.

They want me to resume lectures.

They have been holding meetings and making rather bold speeches — Levi and others.

The white-owned press increasingly accused Kapuuo and the Herero Chief's Council of using the Old Location residents as a front for their refusal to work with the Municipality and Administration. Kapuuo himself seems to have come under fire from the residents for controlling their fate too resolutely, and this increased the friction in the various Herero-dominated bodies.¹⁵ He was also accused of setting up a shop in Katutura, through his father, while simultaneously urging the Old Location residents to boycott Katutura.



The new and contentious township Katutura in January 1960



Goldblatt appears to have known all about this, and at least at one stage seems to have conducted an extensive interview with Kapuuo on the history of the resistance of the Old Location residents up to 1968. (See his notes in the annex.) He was obviously fully aware of the importance of the issue, of the political complexities in which Kapuuo was entangled, and of the continuing sufferings of the Old Location residents. In the press of the 1960s, there was no understanding of what was really going on in the Old Location. The newspapers depicted the location as a filthy shanty town, and its residents as stubborn people who refused the virtues of the new and modern township, graciously offered by the Municipality, and at the mercy of an uncooperative Herero Chief's Council.

The Herero Chief's Council organised in the Old Location not only alternative services like refuse collection and water provision but also, as chapter VI illustrates, cultural events, in order keep up the spirit of resistance.¹⁶ The erection of a monument commemorating the victims of the shootings, which Goldblatt refers to above, has to be viewed in the same light.

4.764.

Since the last entry [of late 1963] I have maintained contact with Kapuo.¹⁷

It is clear they regard me as a legal advisor. But only in regard to local affairs.

E.g. Whether the Municipality has the right to require a young Herero who had been living with his parents in the location for years and had passed his Standard VI, could be required to go back to the Reserve where he was born, if he could not get work in Windhoek.

He wanted to continue his studies but was refused permission, at the same time he was refused a work permit.

The object is to get them to the Reserve where they have not the means of livelihood and thus force them to go to the white man's farms to work.

This has been usual practice.

But this is subject to one qualification.

They will remove all restrictions if only the young men will go to Katutura the new location.

The authorities want to get all the inhabitants of the old location to move to Katutura.

The conditions in Katutura are undoubtedly much better than in the old location, but mainly on political grounds — (protest against Apartheid) — the Hereros will not leave the unsanitary conditions of the Old Location.

It is around this question that all the troubles revolve.

[In the margin:] I see that I have started writing on this blank page thinking the previous page was the end of my notes.

[In 1962] I was acting as advocate for Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi in the action for defamation brought against them by v. Zyl, assistant Bantu Commissioner in the Kaokoveld. [See also the entry 30.7.1962 in chapter II.]

Hosea had sent cable to the U.N.O. charging van Zyl with having illegally sent Kausana to Portuguese Angola.

Continuation of Notes to C. [sic]

[...]

In the course of the conduct of the cases between v. Zyl and Hosea Kutako, and Kausana [Mbiroro Kasaona] against v. Zyl and the Government, Headman Kephass [Chief Kefas Mazuma] from the Kaokoveld came down for consultation.

He is dressed like a European.

Intelligent and good humoured.

I thought that the Kaokoveld inhabitants were all savages. That is not so.

He obviously is a man who could exercise authority amongst his people.

A month ago Kapuo told me that Kephass was down here [in Windhoek again].¹⁸

I had expressed a wish to see him for a chat.

The cases had been settled on the basis of the Govt. paying Kausana £500 + costs and withdrawing the action against Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, with costs.

Kapuo brought Kefas to my chambers.

He was a great admirer of mine.

He said that all the Kaokoveld Hereros regarded me as being wonderful in and that I had got the Government to pay Kausana £500 – a huge sum of money in their eyes.

We had a lively chat. I wanted to know about the people of the Kaokoveld and how they lived.

The conversation was very easy and he was informative. [See also the notes on Chief Kefas Mazuma in the annex.]

He said that there was uninterrupted communication with the Tjimbas on the Angola side of the Cunene. They were all related to the Kaokoveld inhabitants – all members of the Herero tribe.

They looked upon Hosea Kutako as their chief.

Kephas is one of the most important headman in Kaokoveld and lives near Ohopoho [Opuwo].

He obviously regards Kapuo as the deputy of Hosea.

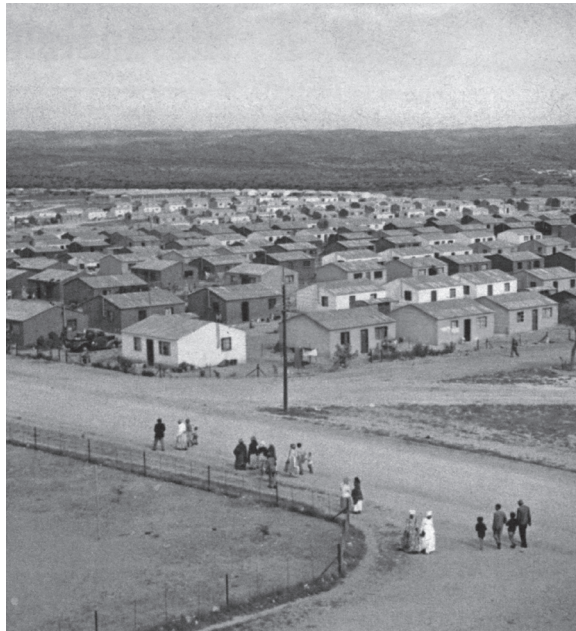
Incidentally Kapuuo tells me that Kausana, by reason of his recently acquired wealth, has become quite proud.

4/7/65

I have not kept up these notes, but during the last year Kapuo came to me on a number of occasions for legal advice.

Once it was in regard to his wanting to go to a Reserve in the south – I think it was Tses. I believe he wanted to hold a political meeting there, although he did not tell me his purpose.¹⁹ The local magistrate, as District Nat. Commissioner refused permission to enter the Reserve.

Katutura in c. 1963



I interviewed the Asst. Nat. Com. of Windhoek and he confirmed that there were a number of Africans — it is true a minority — who were opposed to the visit. He admitted that there were other reasons which he would not disclose.

But Kapuo would not be allowed in.

I told Kapuo this and explained that there was nothing he could do — the law was against him. On another occasion he had arranged to meet some Rehoboth leaders in Rehoboth. Permission was refused.

He then arranged to meet them outside Rehoboth together with the editor of ... I think Contact — (I forget his name).²⁰

Apparently the place selected was just inside the [Rehoboth] Gebiet, and before they could meet, the police arrested Kapuo and the editor.

That night I received an urgent visit from Mr Karuaera and a few others telling me that Kapuo could not be found. I rang up Lieut. Swanepoel of the Security Police²¹ and he explained what had happened and that Kapuo had not actually been arrested. He was merely taken to the charge office.

They intended to charge him.

I contacted Colonel Crous²² and after he had consulted the Administrator, Kapuo was allowed to sign an admission of guilt and a nominal fine.

The editor of Contact whom I was not representing did not come off so lightly.

[4.7.65]

A few months ago Kapuo came to me to tell me that the Security Police had searched his shop and taken away a magazine (Communist).²³ The magazine was still in its wrapper. Kapuo explained to them and to me that he had not ordered it — and it had come the previous day and he told the police he had not opened it.

They refused to believe him and told him he would be charged under the Communism Act.²⁴

I told him that in the circs. [circumstances] he had nothing to fear.

A few days afterwards Crous, who had in the meantime been made Brigadier, rang him to say that no charge would be laid.

My impression is that the authorities do not, in view of the pending case at [the ICJ in] The Hague, want to stir up any trouble with Kapuo, and possibly they would not want to disclose how they came to know that the magazine was in his possession.

They must have been informed by the Post Office, and their relationship would preferably remain undisclosed.

A few days ago Rev. Karuaera came to me with a couple of Hereros.

The leaders of NUDO, in Otjiwarongo [Waterberg] Reserve, a political party with which Kapuo and Kerina are associated, wanted to hold a public meeting in the Reserve, but the Magistrate prohibited it.

Three of the 4 board members were opposed to NUDO.

I explained the law to them that the only ground for refusal was the fear of disturbance — violence, etc. and that they should write to the Magistrate asking for his reasons.²⁵

23.4.66

Kapuo consults me about telephone message received from Ma... [illegible] Headman at Berseba Reserve (Hottentot) that Major of Police and Magistrate wanted him to take part in Republic Celebrations [on 31 May].²⁶

They threatened 'dit sal moeilik vir jou wees' [It will be difficult for you].

I said he was not obliged to, but he must make up his own mind.

No legal steps could be taken against Police.

If he is weak and afraid he will always be subject to their instructions. If he is strong like Hereros — who do not take part, he will do as he pleases.

23.4.66

Kapuo tells me that he had an interview with a journalist from the Daily Express.²⁷ When Kapuo was asked about why they would not move from Old to New Location he replied: 'Why do you come all the way from London to find out about the old location? Is there nothing else to see in SWA?'

When the man said in England the Govt. has the right to break down buildings, Kapuo replied in England you have an elected Govt., not here.

Last week Kapuo came with representatives from Waterberg Reserve. Complaint was that the Bantu Affairs threatened prosecution of Herero farmers for not paying grazing fees. But farmers had no money and could only pay if a stock sale were allowed. They were ordered to bring all their stock in for inspection but owing to recent rains this was impossible.

I saw Dr Watt, Chief Vet. Officer and Bantu Affairs and Kapuuo. Watt explained the necessity for inoculation [sic] before sale and that he required inspection of 80% of stock at regular intervals.

He had as a special measure allowed towards end of last year, a sale of stock with inoculation [sic] of only those which were to be sold, but only under a promise that the farmers would agree to general inoculation [sic].

This promise had not been kept.

The farmers were actually afraid of inoculation [sic] because in 1963 they had lost a lot of cattle which they attributed to inoculation [sic].

Watt says there were deaths but probably not due to inoculation [sic] because vaccine is practically 100% safe. He gave me figures. I explained this to Kapuo and it was agreed that Kapuo would see Watt and that there would likely be co-operation.

Bantu Affairs also agreed to hold their hand pending discussion.

The case of Brendan Simbwaye

During 1966 Israel Goldblatt was occupied by the case of the Caprivian politician Brendan Simbwaye. As was stated previously, they had met for the first time, through Clemens Kapuo, in 1964, after Simbwaye had been transferred by the police to the Windhoek jail. Having been temporarily released, he was then banished, first to Ohopoho (modern Opuwo in north-western Kaoko), and then to Warmbad in southern Namibia. Now, in 1966, Simbwaye was again in urgent need of legal advice.

[28 May 1966]

Case of Brendan Simbwaye²⁸

A week ago I received a message, personal, from Clemens Kapuo, that Brendan was in the Windhoek Gaol, in solitary confinement.²⁹ A few days before I rang up the Officer in charge of the Gaol, Capt. Slabbert, to ask for permission to see Brendan, professionally. He said that he would ask the Secretary for S.W. Africa whether he would agree.

After a few days I rang him up. He replied that he had had no reply, but that the Bantu Affairs Dept. had told him that Brendan was to receive no visitors, that Brendan had noted an appeal against his conviction.

I told him that it was quite irregular for him to take instructions from the Bantu Affairs Dept. and that he alone was in control of the Gaol, and had to make his decision. I repeated that I was not going to see Brendan as a visitor, but as a professional adviser, and that he had come to me for legal advice about 2 years ago, when he had been ordered by the Minister for Bantu Affairs to remove himself from the Caprivi Zipfel to the Kaokoveld. (Since then he had been removed to Warmbad). [See Goldblatt's note 2 October 1964 in chapter II.]

I told Capt. Slabbert that I would contact the Bantu Affairs Dept. The day before yesterday, I saw the second in command at Bantu Affairs, whom I knew from previous interviews on behalf of Kapuo.

I explained the position to him, and said it was unfair that this man who was ignorant of our procedure should be prevented from having professional assistance.

He seemed to agree, and I also pointed out to him that his Department had no say in the matter, it being one entirely for Capt. Slabbert.

He said that the matter had come from Pretoria, and that he would look up the papers.

He was away from his office quite a while and then came back and told me that he had arranged with Capt. Slabbert that I should see Brendan, but he asked me to confine myself entirely to his appeal.

I told him that he knew perfectly well that I was not interfering with the political activities of the non-Whites in the Territory, and that he need have no fears on this occasion.

I then arranged with Capt. Slabbert that I would come down and see Brendan at 10 o'clock, yesterday, 27th May 1966.

He also impressed upon me that I should confine myself to the appeal. Yesterday I went to the gaol, and the officer who generally arranged these interviews met me and told me to enter the room set aside for the purpose.

He said that he would bring Brendan, but hoped I would not mind if he was present during the interview, and that I should confine myself to the appeal.

I told him that I had no objection to his being present, and Brendan was brought in. He recognised me and we shook hands.

He sat down in the chair at the other side of the table, in which I had sat before he came in and which I had been courteously asked by the gaol man to vacate because that chair was for non-whites.

This gaol man was very courteous and helpful throughout.

I then asked Brendan to tell me what it was all about, why he was in gaol, and about his appeal.

He then told me that in Oct. 1965 he had been convicted in the Magistrate's Court in Warmbad [southern Namibia] for assaulting a woman, a sister, or someone. I could not quite make it out. He said that it was not true but the Magistrate had sentenced him to 2 months imprisonment.

He said that he had given the Sergeant in Court notice of appeal, but he had heard nothing more about the matter. He said that he had done so in writing.

From my previous interview with him 2 years ago [see the entry 2 October 1964 in chapter II], I ascertained that he had been a teacher in the Roman Catholic school in the Caprivi, for about 7 years — had passed his J.C. [Junior Certificate] and had 2 years of teacher's training.

He speaks English but occasionally it is not easy to follow his pronunciation. But he writes fairly well.

He said that he had been badly beaten by the White Police and that he had shown the marks and his torn shirt to the Magistrate.

(I am not quite certain whether this occurred on this occasion or on the second occasion when he was arrested in April 1966).³⁰

He then told me that when he came out of Court he told someone or other that he had not been getting sufficient food. I am not quite certain of the time when this was supposed to happen, but I shall enquire again.

It may be that this happened when he came out of gaol after serving his sentence of 2 months, on 4th Dec.

SW Africa central prison,
Windhoek,
18th July 1966.

The Advocate W. Goldblatt.
Windhoek.

Sir,

I write to ask if you can
contact the commissioner for me
on the following terms of ~~accu~~
accusations according to the order
served on me in 1964.

I hereby accuse the Administration
of violating their own made order
Section 2.

a) I claimed my goods such books
and the books were claimed on
10th October 1964 at Olapoko, the
Universal Home lawyer, the
Webb of Government and may others.
b) The book shelf but nothing
has been brought in. And several
representation has been put
through magistrate at WARRMBAD
and there is had not reply.
c) The Administration has illegal
and inhuman restricted me
at WARRMBAD, by not supplying
me with human conditions of
food & have to go on begging
and Sergeant and the magistrate
of Karasburg one the witnesses.

i) The Administration bought
me one pair Trousers one shirt

At any rate on 4th Dec. he engaged in some conversation or complaint with someone. Nothing happened on this until on 8th April he was arrested on a charge of contravening Sec. 20 of Proc. of 1928 for having stirred up racial strife.

He says that this related to what he had said on 4th Dec., and he denied that he had done anything irregular. His great point is that they waited until April before arresting him. Why did they not arrest him at once, particularly as a White Policeman had come up to him and demanded an explanation at the time of his utterances on 4th Dec.

He was tried on 14th April by the magistrate's Court at Warmbad, and was sentenced to 6 months [in the Keetmanshoop prison].³¹

He says he noted an appeal then, but I am not clear what he did in the way of noting an appeal at Warmbad.

He served 2 months in Keetmanshoop gaol and was then transferred to Windhoek gaol for the remainder of his sentence.

The case was sent up by the Magistrate of Warmbad for automatic review and was confirmed by Badenhorst J.[Judge] on 21 April.

This information was given to me by Slabbert whom I afterwards interviewed.

I then told Brendan that I would go into the matter and I would see him again on Monday 30th.

I then saw Capt. Slabbert, and he was very helpful.

He told me that Brendan had asked him to write to Kapuo to get into touch with me, and Slabbert had done so.

This accounted for Kapuo's coming to me, although Kapuo had not mentioned having received this letter.

Slabbert also said that Brendan wanted to appeal, and Brendan then wrote out a two page account, constituting his notice of appeal.

Slabbert sent this down to the Magistrate of Warmbad on 18th May, Brendan having been received by the Windhoek gaol on 3rd May.

Slabbert told me that Brendan was not in solitary confinement, but was kept separate from the other prisoners.

This is apparently to be accounted for by the fact that Brendan is regarded as a political agitator, this having been the reason why he was removed from the Caprivi Zipfel.

Slabbert also explained that provided Brendan behave himself he would receive a remittance of 2 months of this sentence, i.e. one third and he thought that there would be a further remittance but he would have to get this confirmed, and would let me know.

He also undertook to phone the magistrate of Warmbad as to whether he had received the notice of Appeal.

It is likely that with all the remittances Brendan may be released on 26 June. This will mean that by the time the Magistrate has sent up the record and the Notice of Appeal put in order, and condonation obtained from the Court he will have been released.

Of course he could know nothing of our procedure in regard to noting appeal. By the time he had written out his notice for Slabbert the time for noting appeal had long expired.

I will have to await the record to see what his chances are because even though he will have served his sentence there is the question of previous conviction.

I must also look into the question of how he came to be removed to Warmbad. Did the Minister make another order?

And how does he come to be confined to a small place in the Kaokoveld, and Warmbad. I see that the original order³² for removal to Kaokoveld does mention that he shall reside at a place to be pointed out at Ohopoho, by an official there. But what about Warmbad?

I must ask Bantu Affairs as I undertook not to exceed the bounds of the criminal case with Brendan.

Windhoek 28 May 1966.

[signed] I. Goldblatt

27.6.1966

I got Kapuo to instruct [as attorney] Jack Shar [Goldblatt's brother-in-law] to obtain a copy of the Record from the Mag. of Warmbad.³³

This was received about two weeks ago. I then read it and came to the conclusion, that an appeal would be hopeless and that an application for bail pending appeal would be useless.

We would first of all have to obtain from the Court of Appeal condonation for the late noting of the appeal.³⁴

By the time the appeal would be heard, if condonation granted, Brendan would be out of gaol.

Even if he got bail, he would have been taken back to Warmbad, and then after his unsuccessful appeal he would have to come back and serve the unexpired portion of his sentence — which at present is about 6 - 7 weeks.

I saw Brendan and was with him for 1½ hours. This time the gaol official was not present.

I explained the position to him and in the final result he accepted it.

I went through the record with him and explained that the Magte. [Magistrate] believed the Crown [State] witnesses, and that even his own [Simbwaye's] witness had given evidence in favour of the Crown.

An Appeal Court could not possibly uphold the appeal.

I returned the Record [the files] to Shar who gave it to Kapuo, seeing that he had paid for it.

Kapuo then came to see me last week at my request, and I explained the whole matter to him.

[dated] 27.6.66

Remaining by banishment order on the Farm Halt near Khorixas, Simbwaye was briefly taken to Pretoria in 1968 in the wake of the Treason Trial of 37 Namibians who had been imprisoned after the first military battle between SWAPO forces and the South African army at Omugulu gwombashe in northern Namibia.³⁵ As there was no evidence of his involvement, he was taken back to Halt Farm where he remained for the next four years. Only in 1972 did he receive a temporary travel permit to visit his home region, where he disappeared soon afterwards, having most probably been assassinated by unknown forces.³⁶

Robert Gordon once remarked with reference to South African defence lawyers and their involvement in Namibian political trials³⁷ that there exists the impression "that Namibian lawyers are not only conservative plodders but have been weak on human rights, and that political prisoners thus have had to depend on hotshot South African lawyers. ... Indeed, I would insist, at the minimum, that advocate I. Goldblatt's name be entered on the historical record."³⁸

Goldblatt, though, might not have perceived himself as a human rights lawyer, even if he did act on numerous occasions as a pro deo defence counsel, in particular for Africans. As already discussed, his first such case dated back to 1923 when he defended Chief Jacobus Christian in his treason trial. As Goldblatt recalled in 1978:

After sentence had been pronounced [confining Christian to five years of imprisonment with hard labour], a policeman informed me that Jacobus Christian's wife wished to speak to me. I went outside, and this dignified woman, unlettered and a member of a backward tribe, thanked me for undertaking the defence of her husband without a fee. She knew this because the judge had mentioned it when delivering his verdict ...

Israel Goldblatt addressing the Court, mid-1960s



I mention this case because of the conduct of Jacobus Christian's wife, something that had never happened to me before and was never to happen to me since, although I appeared in numerous pro deo cases, for Blacks and some Whites.³⁹

In general, as Goldblatt reminisced about his long career as a lawyer and Judge,

I ... found that it was easier to decide upon the question of guilt than upon the sentence. What is there to go on? Does the judge appreciate the difference between a sentence of imprisonment for, say, five years and seven years? Does he know what solitary confinement means or suffering lashes? The unfortunate prisoner certainly does.

I came to the conclusion that the only solution was that, for a judge to be able to appreciate the real nature of the punishment he was inflicting, he should previously have undergone it himself.

With some irony, Goldblatt added "that this principle should apply also when a sentence of death by hanging has to be passed!"⁴⁰

Endnotes

- 1 Goldblatt is most probably referring to Bishop Mize.
- 2 First (1963), p.16.
- 3 Lucian Goldblatt acted as attorney for his father Israel Goldblatt.
- 4 *Windhoek Advertiser*, Friday 14 September 1962: "SS Stormtroopers smashed into Demonstrators". According to the newspaper, SWAPO published in the September issue of "Solidarity", a report by a Paul Bassingthwaite, named 'our Windhoek Correspondent' on "the incident on July 20 this year when the police used teargas to disperse a crowd of approximately 300 Natives, who demonstrated in protest against the removal of people from the Old Location to the new residential area, Katutura." The newspaper quoted at length from the report, which claimed that "the ruthlessness and speed with which the recent demonstration, mainly by women, in the Windhoek African Location was smashed, left one stunningly surprising aspect: That the German Youth Storm Troopers would go into large scale action so soon after their branch establishment in South West Africa." According to the newspaper, Bassingthwaite in his report said that "the headquarters of these 'SS branches' in SWA ... were being operated from the Federal Republic of Germany". Furthermore, on "the ruthless SS and police action that was to be seen on July 20 when Hereros demonstrated, Bassingthwaite said: 'Many Africans emerged from the procession, bleeding mostly from head injuries.'" (p.1)
- 5 On the reserve see Wagner (1957).
- 6 Van der Walt was the 2nd in command at Native Affairs under Blignaut.
- 7 Dr. J.S. Watt, a veterinarian and the Director of Agriculture in the 1960s.
- 8 See also entry 20.9.1962.
- 9 Hager was Chief Magistrate at the time. Pers. comm. from Kurt Dahlmann to Dag Henrichsen.
- 10 On these conflicts see especially Ngavirue (1997), pp.241-245, and Emmett (1999), pp.321-335.
- 11 On this and the Rhenish Mission school in the Old Location see also the report by Rev Diehl, as summarised by Gockel (2010), p.164.
- 12 On the entrenchment of the Bantu education system from 1960 onwards, see Cohen (1994), pp.96ff.
- 13 Sam Cohen Ltd, established in 1906, developed into one of the major companies in Namibia after World War I with stakes in the motor vehicle business, in agriculture, fishing and mining industries. In the 1960s, Jack ("Jacky") Leslie Cohen, Sam Cohen's son, was a director of the company. On the history of the company see Cohen (1956).
- 14 The Namibian politician and petitioner to the UN, Mburumba Kerina, had lived in the US since the 1950s.
- 15 His opponent in this respect was Advisory Councillor Joshua Kamberipa who supported the relocation of Old Location residents to Katutura. See Kamberipa's version of the frictions relating to the persistent resistance by Old Location residents, and the burning down of his house by residents, in Dammann (1986), pp.316ff.
- 16 It seems that the statement in Jafta et al (1995) that "the full story of what happened [in 1968] has yet to be told" continues to be relevant. (p.51f.) There is very little information, to

- say nothing of analyses, on the Old Location after 1960.
- 17 Between late 1963 and July 1964, Goldblatt did not continue his notes, probably due to the death of his wife Janet on 14 November 1963. From this time on, in contrast to the previous years, his notes became increasingly irregular.
 - 18 Israel Goldblatt had met Chief Kefas Mazuma already in July 1962. See the entry 30.7.1962 in chapter II.
 - 19 As Dahlmann (n.d.) writes, in 1964 Kapuuo travelled extensively in the country in order to organise a "National Convention of all the tribal Chiefs", no doubt in connection with the formation of NUDO. The administration, but also the Baster Raad, refused permits for the participants involved. (p.114)
 - 20 The editor of *Contact*, the magazine in support of the Liberal Party of South Africa, at the time was either Harold Head or Mike Francis. See Vigne (1997), p.191. The magazine was a publication well-regarded by Namibian nationalists, because it covered not only South African developments in a critical way but also African politics, decolonisation and the politics of liberation movements throughout the continent. See also *ibid*, p. 185f. For some time, Werner Mamugwe, a staunch SWANU activist in Windhoek, and, around 1963, the acting SWANU president (Dahlmann n.d., p.104), was the Namibian correspondent of *Contact*.
 - 21 On Swanepoel see the details provided in chapter V.
 - 22 Theo C. Crous in the mid-1960s was head of the police in the Territory. He was also the commander of the newly formed secret Republician Intelligence Service (RI) in Windhoek. See Swanepoel (2007), p.32ff.
 - 23 Probably the *South African Communist*, a magazine issued by the South African Communist party.
 - 24 The Suppression of Communism Act No 44 of 1950 formally banned the South African Communist Party and allowed the government to arrest and charge individuals for a wide range of activities. Parts of the Act were only repealed after 1982.
 - 25 On all this see the ICJ, Vol XI, pp. 492ff.
 - 26 Republic Day was celebrated in South Africa and Namibia from 1961 onwards to mark the Union of South Africa's breaking away from the Commonwealth and its establishment as a republic independent of the British Crown.
 - 27 Not traced.
 - 28 Israel Goldblatt as advocate was briefed by Shar, the attorney. Pers. comm. Karen Marshall.
 - 29 From Israel Goldblatt's notes on the order it seems as if Brendan Simbwaye was admitted to the Windhoek gaol on 3 May.
 - 30 For more details on the arrests of Simbwaye see Kangumu (2008), p.280ff.
 - 31 *Ibid*, p.281.
 - 32 "Order by the Honourable Michiel Daniel Christiaan de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development of the Republic of South Africa", 24 September 1964. In BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).
 - 33 An attorney would have to be instructed by the client to obtain a court record. In the case of Brendan Simbwaye, Kapuuo instructed the attorney and the advocate. Pers. comm. Karen Marshall.
 - 34 Because the period for noting an appeal had lapsed. Pers. comm. Karen Marshall.
 - 35 See esp. Namhila (2006), chapter VI.
 - 36 See endnote 30.
 - 37 South African lawyers involved in the 1960s and 1970s in cases defending Namibians were, amongst others, George Bizos, Joel Carlson, David Soggot, and Oliver Tambo.
 - 38 Robert Gordon in "Namibia's Trials of Terror", in *Southern African Review of Books*, No 5, October/November 1988, p.23.
 - 39 SALJ (1978) 95, p.122f.
 - 40 *Ibid* (1978) 95, p.266.

V "Growth of a Rumour": settler society and the Security Police

The activities of Goldblatt and the Study Group, his regular meetings with African politicians and his "lectures" to Kapuuo and others on law and administration quickly became the subject of rumours in white Windhoek. The attention of the Security Police was also drawn to his involvement with the Africans. In response to all this, Israel Goldblatt felt compelled to put things into perspective and in September 1963 wrote the essay "Growth of a Rumour".

In it, Goldblatt sketches the background to the formation of the Study Group and his increasing involvement with the African politicians. He summarises events and meetings with them and briefly records other responses. The essay provides a good overview of his contacts and meetings with the African nationalists up to 1963. It is presented here in full despite the fact that the first part has already been quoted in chapter I.

22.9.1963

Growth of a Rumour

Our Study Group came into existence early in 1960 — met at my house.¹

The original members were J[ürgen] Meinert, [Ferdinand] Lempp, Rev. v.d. Seyde, Dr. [Hans Ludwig] Meyer, Mr & Mrs. [Edgar and Marga] Vaatz, Riemers, Eichbaum, Mrs. [Irmhild] Gebhardt, Janet [Goldblatt] and myself.

Later on we were joined by Dr. [Wilhelm] Arndt, Dr. Kiwi, [John] Kirkpatrick, [Peter Lewis] Leigh and Dr. [Ernst Rudolf] Scherz.

When Mr. & Mrs Vaatz and Lempp joined Japie Basson's party [the South West Party] they were required to resign.

The Roman Catholic Pater Balmeyer was invited to attend and join. He attended one meeting and no more.

The object was to educate ourselves in United Nation matters particularly as they affected S.W. Africa.

One or two foreign journalists, German, were invited to attend our meetings, also Curon [?] of the American Consulate of Cape Town.

We had forgotten to obtain the permission of the magistrate to take part in gatherings. This was rectified in May 1961 when he gave permission. It was a condition that no active member of any political party could be a member. At no time were any non-Europeans present. In Nov. 1960 I published my pamphlet [The Conflict between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa in regard to South West Africa] on the urging of the Group. It was translated into German in 1961. In May 1961 the booklet [The Mandated Territory of South West Africa in Relation to the United Nations] was published.

Some time after the publication of the pamphlet, Kapuo, accompanied by a few members of the Chief's Council came to see me to consult me about the Municipality's action in requiring buildings in the Old Location to be pulled down. About a half dozen Hereros were being prosecuted for having built without permission. This was my first contact with Kapuo. I had never seen him before.

I was briefed to act for the accused in the Magistrate's Court. The cases were all withdrawn.

From then on I seem to have been treated as the Honorary Legal Advisor to the [Herero] Chiefs' Council.

Whenever they had legal problems affecting the right of the Administration and Municipality to control their movements and activities in the location or reserves, they came to me.

Early on they wanted me to draw up a constitution.²

I declined and made it clear that although they knew my viewpoint from the pamphlet and from [public] lectures I had delivered, I did not want to take part in any of their political activities. That was entirely their business. They accepted this completely.

I knew nothing of the messages they sent to the U.N.O. until I saw them in the newspapers and knew nothing of their intentions or discussions. I never asked them and they did not tell me although we saw each other off and on.

This has continued right up to the present.

Last year [1962] we [Goldblatt, Kapuo, Rev. Karuaera, Levy Nganjone, etc] were discussing education.

I tried to get them to educate themselves and to persuade their younger men to take up study.

I was told that Kapuo had been taking a correspondence course in law in the Union, and that Ephraim [Vitore] ... [sic] was taking a correspondence course in accountancy with the London University.

Levi showed me a Herero grammar which he was compiling in English. It was ¾ finished. I undertook to assist.

Isaac [Kambatuku] had been going every day for ½ hour to the library to transcribe an English-Herero Grammar by Kolbe at the Public Library.

I lent Levi Gardiner and Lansdowne (old edition) and the four [sic] volumes of Maasdoorp (old edition) because he wanted to study law.

Both he and Kapuo were teachers in local schools.

Levi [Nganjone] had been of considerable assistance to Dr. [Oswin] Koehler in his studies of the Herero language [in the late 1950s].

They wanted to know about constitutional matters in SWA and public administration.

I agreed to give them a course of lectures.

I asked Dr. [Baikie] Miller to get the Administration to provide us with a room and virtually place the matter under the aegis of the Administration. He seemed agreeable but had to consult the authorities. They refused on the ground that it did not fit in with their scheme of education.

I arranged with Praeses Diehl of the Rhenish Mission to give us a room at the Native Church and school in town.

I gave about 10 lectures (once a week) to Kapuo, Rev. Karuaera, Levi [Nganjone] and Ephraim [Vitore].

They were regarded as the most educated of the lot.

I explained the workings of our system. What parliament was, what the Legislative Assembly was, the Executive Committee, the Administrator. How they were constituted and what their powers were – the Civil Service, Judges, Magistrates etc.

After consulting [Frans] Badenhorst J. [Judge] and getting the permission of the Registrar of the Court, I took them to watch a criminal case in progress in the High Court.

I sat next to them and explained the procedure.

When the Carpio Commission [of the UN] was here [in May 1962] the Study Group suggested that I should seek an interview and put forward our views.

An appointment was made but I could not in the end be fitted in.

While I was waiting at the Grand Hotel, there were others also waiting, Europeans and quite a number of Africans.

As a consequence of a telegram sent by Hosea, Witbooi and SWAPO to U.N.O., van Zyl, the Bantu Commissioner in Kaokoveld instituted an action for damages for defamation against Hosea Kutako and Witbooi.

I was briefed to act for them.

This necessitated consultation with Hosea. He came to my chambers [in July 1962] with a number of his Councillors.

We consulted for a few hours.

My daughter [Naomi Jacobson] sometime after this expressed a wish to do a sculpture of Hosea. He agreed and gave her a number of sittings. She arranged for him and a number of his Councillors to see the result [in March 1963] at the Native Church place where I had been giving my lectures.

I and [Rev] Diehl and his family and Cynthia Nolan were present.

As a result of all this the public has formed the impression

(1) That I have composed the telegrams that Kapuo etc. have sent to U.N.O.

(2) That I made a lot of money coaching the Africans for their interviews with Carpio.

(3) That I am engaged in a plot with the Africans for the overthrow of the Govt.

The Security Police (Swanepoel)³ told me of the information supplied to them.

It was all fantastic.

Thus ends Israel Goldblatt's chronicle of the "Growth of a Rumour". Obviously, Goldblatt was well aware of the limited opportunity for meetings between Europeans and Africans, and about the consequences of outwardly expressing controversial opinions, as he did in his publications on the role of the UN for the country's future. He knew perfectly well that his meetings and activities were unusual and of a politically sensitive nature. He was also cognizant of the role played by rumours which grew so rapidly on the dry Namibian soil.

Israel Goldblatt studying the UN Monthly Chronicle which since its first number in 1964 reported in detail about the SWA dispute and the Namibia hearings at various United Nations fora. Karen Blum is looking on. Windhoek, c. 1970



As far as is known, rumours of a plot against the Administration circulated among Europeans throughout the colonial period and they all concerned the anticipated actions of "the natives" against white rule. They reflected the constant fears of a settler society, which had experienced what it called rebellions, uprisings or wars by Africans during both the German and the early South African period of rule. Rumours of a plot which concerned a white member of the society in Namibia have so far not been recorded.⁴

The immediate question which arises is whether the rumours concerning Goldblatt did in fact exist? Had the Security Police, and specifically Lieutenant Piet Swanepoel, who had performed surveillance missions in Windhoek since late 1960 when he was transferred there from Durban,⁵ perhaps not simply made them up as a warning to Goldblatt that his activities, given the growing tensions in the Territory, were arousing concern within the South African Administration?

There are indications that such rumours did in fact exist outside the minds of the Security Police. They certainly were not wholly fabricated. The white community could read Goldblatt's position on the crucial role of the UN with regard to SWA, or listen to one of his few public speeches on the topic. It does not come as a surprise to learn that he earned more criticism than support for his views and his clear plea for the intervention of the UN. In one of the public reactions to an address Goldblatt delivered in April 1962, he was accused of having provided a "political 'After Dinner speech'" on the UN's role in SWA and in it of having "lost sight of the relation between truth and justice!"⁶ Another reaction accused him of having 'instilled fear'⁷ in his audience. White society in general was not only anti-intellectual but, especially after 1960, under siege. Another reaction to his speech was the question from the audience: "What shall we do to avert trouble?" As Bishop Mize recalled, Goldblatt and Kapuuo later "chuckled together over the answer" which Goldblatt provided: "Make an immediate study of repressed volcanoes!"⁸

European journalists arriving in Windhoek in the early 1960s quickly picked up the local knowledge among whites that "Goldblatt was known for his good relations with the Herero". Having interviewed him, some wrote, discrediting him to varying degrees, that they believed, despite Goldblatt's 'quite emphatic denials', that he actually was the mind behind at least some of the "Herero petitions to the UNO".⁹ Yet, by 1961, when Kapuuo and members of the Chief's Council consulted Goldblatt for the first time in his chambers, African politicians in Namibia had been petitioning the UN regularly for years. Chief Hosea Kutako, Kaptein Samuel Witbooi, Rev Markus Kooper but also many of the younger politicians like Kapuuo himself, as well as Toivo yaToivo, Louis Nelegani and Hans Beukes, had sent petitions of complaint and protest to the UN since the late 1940s. These petitions often had to be smuggled out of the country, given the interception of mail by the Security Branch, as Goldblatt himself had to learn. Sending these petitions resulted in an effective strategy of international mobilisation for the SWA case. Their strategy also very effectively bounced back into the country as the local newspapers, notably the *Windhoek Advertiser* and the German daily, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, not only received copies of their petitions (often hand-delivered to the editors by the writers themselves¹⁰) but also regularly published them. There simply was no need for these African politicians now, in 1961, to involve Goldblatt in their petition strategy. It is obvious, however, that white popular thinking needed to imagine such a role for a defiant member of its own community, illustrating the degree to which Europeans sought out scapegoats. Rumours by their very nature are about this and little else.

The Special Branch of the police obviously picked up on all this. Or, as Bishop Mize phrased it: "In an apartheid nation, Whites who associate with Africans are under suspicion of the

police." Crucial in this was Lieutenant Swanepoel, who in 1963 had been transferred from the local Security Branch to the local branch of the newly founded South African Republican Intelligence Service.¹¹ This security agency focused not only on African political parties but also, given the growing "mania with internal security", on liberal whites.¹² It is thus not surprising that Swanepoel and Israel Goldblatt came into contact with one another. According to Swanepoel's memoir, Goldblatt was "the only one acknowledged white liberal in the country".¹³ When Swanepoel arrived in Windhoek in 1960, he had found a file on Goldblatt in the offices of the Security Branch¹⁴ and over the following years, he claims to have regularly written reports on his encounters with Goldblatt for his superiors in Johannesburg.¹⁵ Goldblatt would also gain some personal experience of the activities of that branch of the police, though this was not at all comparable to what some of his clients and some of his African visitors were to endure.

Goldblatt probably knew that the police were obliged "immediately to pass on any information to the SB [Security Branch]".¹⁶ Not surprisingly, Randolph Vigne, after meeting Goldblatt in 1961, stated that Goldblatt "will do nothing positive to encourage the security police to watch his movements, tap his telephone, etc., as they certainly would do if he should make any move in this direction."¹⁷ This was soon to change. When exactly Goldblatt, his home and his family were placed under regular surveillance by the Security Police remains unclear. Did it start when Ruth First, the radical and, in the eyes of the Security Police "communist" journalist, visited Namibia, and met Goldblatt, in 1962? While in Windhoek, First was under constant surveillance by the Security Police, among them Swanepoel.¹⁸ She had met Goldblatt at his home and it is quite possible that it was through him that she then met Kapuuu, Nganjone and other African politicians¹⁹ whom she interviewed for her critical investigations into the country's history, politics and conflicts.

As she was afterwards to write on her experiences in Windhoek:

The police state in operation is not noisy or dramatic, except in time of emergency; it can be relaxed, even slovenly. The detectives on duty that first week-end wore shorts and rugby socks, and childish smiles on their faces as, in the prowling police car, they outdistanced me, the foot-slogger, on the way to an appointment. In the beginning there were two, later four, and even five and six on duty, working in pairs, padding along the pavement six paces behind me ... the trail to the dry-cleaner and the shoemaker, the skulking next to the telephone booth, both ends of the road and every exit of the hotel patrolled, detectives following me to the airport, to the post office to buy stamps, watching me at breakfast, interviewing people I had seen — ...²⁰

Having escaped into exile after she was released from solitary confinement in Johannesburg in connection with the Rivonia Trial and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other African National Congress and Communist Party activists, in 1964 she wrote from London to "my dear Israel":

Here above much else I think I enjoy the anonymity. You can't say the same in your town, but when I'm not around at least you're not tailed. Though you, of course, enjoyed that, as you enjoy everything.²¹

As his daughters Naomi Jacobson and Karen Marshall remember vividly, Israel Goldblatt was tailed regularly, though not, of course, in quite the intense and intimidating way they followed Ruth First. For Goldblatt the most noticeable sign over the years was the yellow VW beetle which regularly turned up in front of his home on Schwerinsburgweg. At times, so the family memory goes, he invited "them" inside for tea. The issue of phone tapping, the daughters

recall, was a constant concern, as were the intermittent telephone calls late at night, with only silence at the end of the line. Letters between him and Ruth First did go astray and he joked about it in those which did reach her in London.²² Obviously, then, the Security Police had orders to at least scare off Goldblatt, while he himself seems to have regarded them more as an irritation than a threat. Yet, his house was not searched, as were those of Kapuuu, Nganjone and Rev Karuaera,²³ nor, apparently, were his chambers touched. Karuaera in an interview in 2007 dismissed the question of Goldblatt's security with the laconic remark: "He was too prominent".

In this "undramatic" climate of the police state, fear was a crucial element instilled by the Security Branch into society, rumours being one of its (intended?) outcomes.²⁴ Goldblatt would not give in to this, nor would he abandon his principle of "building bridges". In this he displayed a different approach to, for example, Advocate Jochen Berker. When the latter apologised privately to the three African men who in 1960 were barred by Berker's "SWA Political Group" from attending a public lecture by Alan Paton in the Sam Cohen Hall in Windhoek, he, according to the SW News, added that he, "feared that he would be 'arrested'. 'You well know the situation in this country', said the Advocate".²⁵ Goldblatt did not have such fears. Ruth First aptly summed up the situation in Windhoek at the time by remarking that "this is a community where passers-by look askance at any conversation between a White and an African. Where flimsy cords of communication between the colours are spun, intimidation severs them instantly."²⁶ Goldblatt continued, despite the signs of intimidation, to meet the African politicians.



*Windhoek's main street,
Kaiserstrasse, in the 1960s*

At one stage, the South African Administrator in Windhoek must have been informed about Goldblatt's activities as can be gleaned from a strongly worded letter of protest which Goldblatt wrote on 8 April 1963 to Wentzel ('Wennie') du Plessis.²⁷

The letter was written after a confrontation between Goldblatt and du Plessis on Tuesday, 6 April, in the Administrator's office on the issue of, as Goldblatt put it in his letter, "the Administration['s] refusal to permit Dr. [Kenneth] Abrahams of Cape Town to reside and practise in Rehoboth". Kenneth Abrahams, a medical doctor from Cape Town, and his Namibian wife, Otilie Schimming who had grown up in the Old Location²⁸, had been active SWAPO members in Cape Town, and in January 1963 had settled in Rehoboth. The South African authorities regarded Abrahams as a "prohibited immigrant", which prompted the Rehoboth Raad to declare Abrahams and his wife citizens of Rehoboth with reference to the Raads Constitution and its special rights of self-rule in the Rehoboth Gebiet.²⁹ While Abrahams, together with other SWAPO members like Andreas Shipanga and Hermanus Beukes escaped to Bechuanaland,³⁰ the Raad continued to pursue the matter legally through Israel Goldblatt. The Raad, as Goldblatt explained in his letter, had sought an interview with the Administrator and "I had been informed that the Raad wished me to represent them at the interview, that is as Counsel, and accordingly a consultation took place in my chambers last Monday." The interview with the Administrator took place the following day and Goldblatt was about to address him on the issues concerned when

you stopped me, and said you wished the Raad to put its cases on these two points. ... You ordered me to sit down! ...

No advocate, Your Honour, and certainly no advocate of standing, and I happen to be the most senior ranking advocate in the whole of the Republic and South West Africa – would submit to this discourteous, and in the circumstances insulting treatment. I accordingly, together with my attorney [of the firm Lorentz & Bone] immediately walked out of your office. ...

I wish, Sir, with respect, but strongly to protest against your conduct, and equally strongly against the fact that in the result you deprived my clients of the representation which they had asked you to permit and which you had agreed to.

After the incident, Goldblatt's letter ended, "the Raad came to my chambers 'om hulle teleurstelling uit te druk' [in order to express their disappointment]".

The Administrator's treatment in preventing Goldblatt from properly representing his clients can be read as a calculated reaction towards Goldblatt's acting over a period of time as counsel for the African politicians.

Endnotes

- 1 On the history of the Study Group and its members see the explanations and references in chapter I.
- 2 Presumably for an organisation, perhaps NUDO?
- 3 Piet Swanepoel, not to be confused with Major Theunis Swanepoel ("Rooi Rus"), also from the South African Security Police. Thanks to Kurt Dahlmann for pointing this out to me.

- 4 The Anglican priest Michael Scott and the American activist Allard Lowenstein, who were mentioned in such rumours, were foreigners who stayed in the country only very briefly.
- 5 Swanepoel (2007), p.18f.
- 6 Readers letters by D. Bode ("Menschliche Faktoren") and H. Meinberg ("Was ist wahr?"), in *Allgemeine Zeitung* 11.4.1962. Both referred to a speech which Goldblatt probably gave to

- the Rotary Club in Walvis Bay and which was then summarised in that newspaper as "Die Uno und Südwestafrika", 9 May 1961.
- 7 In German: "das Gruseln beibringen".
 - 8 UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.2.
 - 9 See for example the slippery remarks on Goldblatt by Peter Kleist (1964), p.52. Kleist was a former high-ranking Nazi official, who became an important publisher of anti-semitic literature in West-Germany. Goldblatt had seemingly read a draft of Kleist's remarks and threatened him with a libel action. Kleist then somewhat rephrased his sentences on Goldblatt before his book went into print. See BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7), Kleist to Goldblatt, 15.5.1964. Another journalist, Hans Jenny, a conservative Swiss journalist is more nuanced in his writing about Goldblatt though he too indicates that he does not necessarily believe Goldblatt's denials. Jenny (1966), p. 247. The English translation of Jenny's portrait of Goldblatt (Jenny (1976), p.236) differs from the original German version.
 - 10 Pers. comm. by Kurt Dahlmann to Dag Henrichsen.
 - 11 In order to cover Swanepoel's assignment to the RS, he was made Head of the Firearms Squad. "I cannot remember when, where or under what circumstances Adv. Goldblatt and I met, but by December 1964 we had come to know each other fairly well. He knew that I had been with the Security Branch..." Swanepoel to Dag Henrichsen, e-mail, 22 February 2008.
 - 12 Brewer (2001), p.252.
 - 13 Swanepoel (2007), p.20.
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 Swanepoel to Dag Henrichsen, e-mail, 22 February 2008. See also Brewer (2001), p.252.
 - 16 Ibid, p.252.
 - 17 Compare this with Swanepoel's (2007) remarks on phone tapping in Windhoek in the early 1960s, p.19.
 - 18 See her remarks in her book (1963), p.13f. Also in her book (1965), p.83f. Swanepoel (2007) refers to his encounter with Ruth First only anecdotally (p.47f.) In a letter to First from Mbahimua Kamutuua Kapute (San Francisco) dated 3.11.1969, he writes that when she was in Windhoek in 1962 he saw her, but "after all the SB's were trailing you so much, especially from the General Post Office to Central News Agency (bookshop), and, consequently, I could not approach you without penalty." Kapute had left Namibia in 1964. ICS, Ruth First Archives, 1/3/9/6. Naomi Jacobson remembers that after having met Ruth First in Café Schneider close to the Post Office, she was followed by a man. She decided to stop at a pole and confront him, asking him whether he wanted her name. He declined. Pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen, November 2007.
 - 19 A list of Ruth First's possible contacts in Windhoek can be found in ICS, Ruth First Archives, 1/7/1/3. The list has names and at times telephone numbers and addresses, and includes Israel Goldblatt, Ferdinand Lempp, Bishop Mize, Rev J. Wing, Rev F. Haithornthwaite, Rev W. van der Syde, John Muundja, Stadig Kamonde, Clemens Kapuuo, Levy Nganjone, Hosea Kutako, Rev Karuaera, Gerson Veii and Werner Mamugwe. Some of these names have a tick next to them which could indicate that she met these men. Mize in his reminiscences on Kapuuo mentions that First met Kapuuo and his council at his residency. UKL, Bishop Robert Mize Collection, RH MS 1045, Box 6/1: R. Mize, "Important – on Chief Clements Kapuuo of Hereros. Martyr", undated Ms., p.3.
 - 20 First (1963), p.13.
 - 21 Ruth First to Israel Goldblatt, London, 5 June 1964. Letter held in private possession.
 - 22 See, for example, ICS, Ruth First Archives 1/3/9/3, Israel Goldblatt to Ruth First, n.d. (stamped: Windhoek 1966).
 - 23 See, for example, Kapuuo's letter of 6 June 1961 to Randolph Vigne (in NAN, AACRLS 096) where he reports on the searches of his own home and those of the other two men.
 - 24 This is also confirmed by Kurt Dahlmann's memories of the time in Windhoek. Pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen.
 - 25 *South West News*, 23 July 1960, No 6, p.1
 - 26 First (1963), p.14.
 - 27 Letter kept in private possession.
 - 28 Her father, Otto Schimming, another entrepreneur of the Old Location, had a partner, Mimi, who was the domestic in the Goldblatt family for 16 years. Pers. comm. by Naomi Jacobson to Dag Henrichsen.
 - 29 On this see affair see esp. Kenneth Abrahams in Leys et al (2005), p. 145ff. Abrahams' lawyer in Windhoek was Bryan O'Linn (c 2001), p.150. See also Du Pisani (1986), p.152f.
 - 30 On the men's flight, and Abrahams' capture in Bechuanaland by the South African Security Police and his abduction to Cape Town see Abrahams in Leys et al (2005), p.148ff. Also *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5.8.1963, p.1.

VI Visiting the Old Location, collecting information about African history

Israel Goldblatt's conversations and meetings with the African politicians introduced him into a totally new world, not only that of daily African politics, but also of the history and culture of Africans, and especially the Herero. His notes, for example, on Otjiherero, the Herero language, and his interest in accounts by Herero themselves about the disastrous Herero-German war and about Herero culture, reflect a genuine fascination with an African world which lay on his doorstep but about which he apparently knew little. At that time, he was already gathering material for his *History of South West Africa* (published in 1971). This project, along with sheer intellectual curiosity, may have been one of the reasons why he began to record his conversations on Herero history and traditions.

Right from the beginning of the conversations between Kapuuo, Nganjone, Kutako and Goldblatt, Herero history was a prominent topic:

31.1.62

Had a discussion with Kapuo yesterday to find out the organisation of their Chief's Council etc.

In 1905 [read: 1904] Samuel Maharero fled to Bechuanaland. He ultimately died there [in 1923].

Until 1917 there was no organisation. The tribe was shattered as a consequence of the war 1904–1905.

In 1917 Hosea was elected chief by the heads of the various branches and he has remained Chief ever since. He is about 91. There is a good photo of him in Smuts' Native Tribes of SWA (Govt. publication).¹

There is no periodic election of Chief but now the Headmen of the various reserves could unseat him by a majority vote at a meeting. This has never yet been attempted.

There is an annual meeting of headmen at which matters of interest are discussed.

The Chief's Council is a Council of about 20 members (there is no fixed number) appointed by the Chief who assist him with their advice. They meet often.

Powers and Function of Chief's Council.

? [sic] Kapuo will tell me more.

27-2-62

Kapuo last week gave me an account of the outbreak of the Herero (1904) war [entitled "Herero-German War, 1904-1907. How the war started"].²

He compiled it from what he had heard from old Hereros in Bechuanaland etc.³

It is a disjointed affair, but one statement is interesting viz. — that at the outbreak of hostilities the Hereros believed that Leutwein was dead. I pointed out this was not so. Leutwein was not dead although the Hereros and Samuel believed the story at the time. Kapuo was doubtful, and when I next saw him he said that he had talked to some old men and that it is clear that Leutwein was dead at the time.

I then read out to him a passage from Leutweins book,⁴ published after hostilities with the Herero were over and told him that Leutwein died in 1921 in Germany. He seemed convinced. But the strange thing is that even today — in 1962 — the Hereros believe that Leutwein was dead. How a belief can persist!!

28.2.62

In Deutschlands Kolonien (Rochus Schmidt)⁵ sub voce Hereros, he says that the Herero wears a leather thong in which there appear knots for every child born and when a child dies the knot is unravelled.

29.2.62

Kapuo and Levy state that there are numerous words in old German-Herero dictionaries that they have never heard of. Presumably these words died out of use.

The Holy Fire

1. Formerly and even now the orthodox Hereros used to pray to their ancestors at the Holy Fire. Now they are Christianised and they pray to God and to their ancestors at the Holy Fire.

2. Each family has its own Holy Fire because it has its own ancestors, but there are families which have common beliefs and customs which pray together at a common Holy Fire but to their own ancestors. Such as the different families that do not eat hornless cattle or drink from hornless cattle. Or those who have cattle of a certain colour

3. If a Chief of one such family is ill and his parent is not available he is brought to the common fire and one of the group prays to an ancestor (whose?).

2.3.62

4. Levy says that in the last case the family prays to its own ancestors and asks them to contact the chiefs ancestors — or at the same time as it prays to its own ancestors it sends a message to the chief's ancestors.

Marriage

In early times the marriage would be arranged by the parents. The couple would not see each other until actual marriage.

The bridegroom would give the father of the bride 1 ox, 1 heifer, 1 ewe and 1 lamb.

Nowadays in the reserves the couples' consent is required.

There is a feast at the marriage ceremony and the bridegroom gives the father 1 ox, 1 — to replace the heifer and ... [sic]

Less than a year after his first meeting with Kapuuo, Israel Goldblatt and his family were guests of honour at an entertainment event in the Old Location. His notes on a "Tribal dance at Old Location", which follow here, comprise a highly unusual account by a member of the white community of an evening spent in the Old Location. The event, organised by the Herero Chief's Council, included popular entertainment and political speeches. Given the political reflection of resistance in much of the evening's programme, the Council, which had started these entertainments shortly before the December 1959 shootings in the Old Location and used them for fund-raising, announced them clandestinely as "outjina" and "omuhiva", i.e. traditional dances.⁶

Saturday 8th June 1962

Tribal dance at Old Location — the second night.

(1) Setting. Old tin shanties - The Bantu office — got permit⁷ — streets — water running across —

Sports ground — Municipality had removed goal posts: Circle — area of about 8 yards radius — a big wooden fire in [the] centre. About 60 women bordered the circumference, standing closely packed in 2 or 3 rows on left side from where we were sitting.

On remainder of border men and children standing and sitting on ground dust — a few on chairs. — About 300 men and women onlookers.

Place enclosed by canvas - hessian [a fibre] to keep out those who did not pay for entrance.

At entrance, a few sitting to collect entrance fee, 3/6 each. The money is used for support of those whose menfolk [were] killed in [the] Dec. 1959 shooting.

Light provided by two acetylene lamps placed some distance from each other on wooden poles.

The men all well dressed in European clothing. The women in the gaily coloured long dress reaching to the ground in their normal European costume⁸ — from early missionary days — Herero headdress — doek — with brooch in front. All very tall.

Goggie [Goldblatt's daughter Karen Blum], Werner [Blum] and I the only Europeans present.

The previous night there were twelve CID [Criminal Investigation Department] — obviously expecting riots. Everything very orderly. Everybody in good humour.

Omuhina no Utjina

Ongurova ja Roviungura tjijari 6 k'Etengarindi, otjipari ongo-ngo jo zongongo mo Tjomuise. Kona kuaporere naua tjandje ehi ramuine omata. Imbuli ouingi uo tjirongo tjandje urimbo, no munene no katiti, veja okutarera omundu ua Tjikoke, ngu mave-tena—John Katjipi. Nu ovina kutja viririre ko oviua eje tjandje uaende puna Ngoroveha, Jood Hengua maimbura okaraka okatiti ko njune. Ko mukuma uo utjina vatuako Menesia Vetira.

Ovatie

Enjando ndi oro ratieua tjo kambumba ko vakondjere uo tjiuana. Nu kutja veraise kutja nanguari va pendukira otjiungura tjauo kavena kukehari po—omarambe uo ndjerera ndji munikira ko kure tjandje ja tuirikua, okomahina okakambure kozombo-siro tjandje kerimbo, ingui ko

"nanguari tja koka ma tu "skade".

Okamahina

Kombunda jo ruveze okasupi inga okamahina itjika patururua. Tjimue tjo vijorise vic ngurova indjo, omupunde eje avanga okuripuratena mo kamahina imba ovapuratene tjandje mave vanga okupuratenaj.



mukuma uo mariro tjandje kona kuserekarera.

Mavetja Okeri

Ko mautiro uapunda ovina ouingi tjinene, nu tjiampeja pekatoke arire tjatja, "Mavetja okeri ua Kambanga", na kotora mo Kahandja atja "Ombongo mai umbua", tja-zumbo apundu ongombe ndjatira omeva ua Ngongoro. Kongotue imba ovapuratene arire tjivaruku okutja, "ii muatje ua tate, uarue atja,

Ingui Menesia ua punda endongo, atja, "endongo ia orerua, ondera ja orerua. Apundu asora tjandje eje omuni uapu ma munika otjikazona.

Omapundiro inga ja rara po nga mo ine. Mo Sondaha aejaruka po rukua. Nu me juva indi esenina otji va punda okuvirikiza otjirongo, tjandje na Katjikururume operi. Enjando indi rari no njune tjiri.

Israel Goldblatt was invited by Clemens Kapuuo several times to cultural events in the Old Location. Here is a rare photograph of Herero women performing the "Outjina" and "Omuhiva" dances to which Israel Goldblatt is referring, in the Old Location, published in the South West News, No 1, 5 March 1960. The article (in Otjiherero) refers to the "most auspicious and glamorous event in Windhoek" entailing "many dances and songs". For a translation see Henrichsen (1997)

A few fires near the spectators.

(2) Our arrival. We paid our 3/6 at entrance. One of those collecting entrance money, Ephraim [Vitore]. We were noticed and Izaak took us round to 4 vacant chairs. We were asked to sit down. Soon after Kapuo came and sat next to us – the whole time.

A little later a Herero priest from Doeбра joined us and sat down. Real VIP treatment. We arrived about 7-45 and sat till 10-15.

(3) When we arrived there were two Hereros – performers – who were already performing. They were dressed in riding habit. Coat, breeches, gaiters and spurs – crushed hat (?). Izaak told us that one of them was the second champion, the first champion was coming later. – They came from one of the Reserves. Izaak appeared to be the organiser. Another Herero, who usually accompanies Kapuo – member of the Chiefs' Council – also helped to keep order.

There was no drinking as long as we were there. No food.

(4) Then the real champion came in – with a little bit of swagger.

Then the play began in earnest.

The 3 actors (a) a baboon near the water (b) a crocodile, (c) a lion hunt. These were traditional acts. The animal's movements and antics (baboon peeling and eating an orange (?)) were imitated.

This was all accompanied by a sing song by the leading actor, repeated by the performers, whose only other activity was to clap their hands in a uniform rhythm, throughout the night and sway their hands in harmony.

Then came acting of recent events representing

(d) The cruel police at Osire

The champion walked round the ring (women's side) and was followed by the other 2. He had his hands behind him, held by one of the others to indicate that he was arrested. This went on to the accompaniment of body and foot movements.

These foot movements were very expressive.

When the lion was being baited, the lashing of his tail would be represented by a vigorous stamp of one foot, of the prone champion, some of the foot movements were like a stepdancer's.

(e) Then came a little bit of comic relief. The father and son, coming to the office, they have not paid their grazing fees.

There is a heated argument. The father maintains he only has 6 head of cattle. The son says 8. The father said he has paid for many – the son denies it. They move around with foot movements and continue the argument. All the time the women are clapping in rhythm.

(f) They gave a realistic representation of the pulling down of the houses, when the Municipal authorities wanted to compel them to remove to Katutura. One of them was the bulldozer. Excellent acting. At the end, one of the 3 representing the house suddenly fell across the bulldozer. The house was down.

This was all preceded and accompanied by a speech and sing song to the effect that they must not go to Katutura — to the new place.

(g) Then followed a performance to represent the shooting in Dec. 1959.

The Champion represented the Govt. forces. He imitated a machine gun. The rapid discharge of bullets was indicated by a surprising rapidity of up and down movements of one foot against the ground. You could hear the snapping sound. The other two went through the motion of throwing stones. All very good acting.

(h) They then represented Hosea. We continually asked Kapuo what was happening. In a number of instances he did not know himself, and sent Izaak to find out.

(i) They represented Carpio coming in an aeroplane. Went through various motions, and a sing song repeated by the normal performers "Take our message to U.N.O."

We sat until 10-15 and it was cold, although we had a blanket (handed by Kapuo) round our knees and feet and a paraffin heater had been placed next to us.

As the performance was going on until the early hours of the morning, I asked Kapuo if it would be wrong if we left. He said "No".

We got up, shook hands with the priest, Izaak, the other two councillors, and walked across the circle accompanied by Kapuo to our car.

[In the margins:] In our process we greeted the performers, by taking off our hats to which they responded, also those whom we passed on our way to the exit.

(5) If this was the traditional performance, then it goes back to the Minstrels. People did not write or have books. This was the means of carrying on the recollection of events from one generation to another.

(6) On our way back we passed the Sybil Bowker Hall. It was Saturday night and the place was crowded with youngsters doing the modern European dances.

(7) Kapuo clearly was in authority — quiet and understated — very good humoured.

Obviously, Goldblatt and his family were treated as VIPs, which might have had an influence on the programme. It should also be noted that this was not the last time that Israel Goldblatt attended such an event in the Old Location. In mid-1964, for example, he took Carl and Daniela Schlettwein from Basel (Switzerland) together with Irmhild Gebhardt from Windhoek to a similar event.⁹ Rev Karuaera who was in charge of the organisation of these evenings recalled in 2006 that apart from Goldblatt and his guests "no other whites ever came".¹⁰

Such visits by Goldblatt to the Old Location obviously deepened his relationship with Kapuo as well as his interest — and respect — for African history and culture. His notes on these

particular events in the Old Location are a rare record by a European on an African idiom of political discourse and resistance mobilisation, which was neither accessible, nor probably, for that matter, of interest, to the white community (though, as Goldblatt indicates, it was of interest to the police who, at times, were present!). Here it is sufficient to point out that Goldblatt's description provides glimpses into a world of Old Location resistance politics that would require more historical research. "Outjina" and "omuhiva" are small theatrical show-dances of memorable events in which praise poetry with its particular combination of recital, gesture, mime, melody and rhythm play a crucial role.¹¹ They were a common feature of the cultural life of otjiHerero-speaking people in the Old Location¹² and continue to act today as fundamental transmitters of public history and as anchors of memory and consciousness. In the difficult situation of the 1960s, such events obviously provided some residents of the Old Location with a means to articulate, to mobilise for and to maintain their resistance. The dances and praises as performed and narrated in the Old Location can be regarded as "invisible monuments", as Anette Hoffmann has suggested¹³, that is, performance memorials to those who had been killed in December 1959. Finally, Goldblatt's text provides evidence of how political bodies like the Herero Chief's Council and common people in the Old Location sustained intersecting cultural and political spaces in the Old Location at a time when its residents were severely threatened by the apartheid state.

Over the years, Herero history regularly cropped up in Israel Goldblatt's conversations with Kapuuo:

[30.6.1962]

Today he [Kapuuo] tells me that Hosea and Kapuo's own father say that the Germans gave the Hereros in the concentration camps (Windhoek, Okahandja, Omaruru, Swakopmund) poisoned food except those who were labourers.

Those who were known to have killed German farmers or traders were executed. His own father's elder brother came to him and told him that he was to be executed as suspect of such a murder, merely because he was in the area concerned. He was executed.

Kapuuo's father saw his mother, his sister and his younger brother dead in the concentration camp at Swakop[mund].¹⁴

BUT [sic] his father was eleven or twelve years old at the time. How would he know. He must have heard.

Kapuuo is inclined to believe that this may be so.

He could get no information about the sterilisation, and Hosea knows nothing about the women's vow.¹⁵

Kapuuo says you can inquire among all the Hereros. They have no grudge today against the Germans. This seems true, except that they vote for the Nationalists.¹⁶ They [the Herero] are however hostile to the Afrikaner [Boers]. And this inspite of the fact that at the outbreak of the Herero war, Samuel Maharero gave strict instructions that Boers were not to be harmed.

We agreed that it was because the Govt was constituted of Afrikaners and they were the intense Apartheid apostles, and refused to accept the black man as an equal, socially or politically.

The topic of sterilisation cropped up again later during the year:

[31.7.1962]

Herero Women's Oath not to bear children after the 1904-5 German war.¹⁷ Kapuo has never heard of it. He asked Hosea and other old men. They had never heard of it. But Kapuo says the Germans sterilised the Herero women (apparently inoculated [sic]).

[16 July 1966]

Ovahimbias

16th July 1966, went to Kapuo's house and there met 4 Ovahimbias.

They had come down from the Kaokoveld, near the Cunene to see Hosea Kutako, whom they regard as their Chief.

Two of them were Headmen, one rather old, and the other much younger, and the other two were ordinary men. All were dressed in tribal dress, no trousers, but they must have been given locally jackets or coats to cover themselves.

One of them had on a NUDO badge, and they had membership cards. All they understood about NUDO was that it stood for Unity among the Hereros. The same man had a ball point pencil stuck in his outside pocket, like mine, and I asked him whether he could write, he said 'No'. Then what was he carrying a pencil for. Well in case he learned to write. 'Is there any one up there who can teach him to write?' 'No, but you go from one to the other and maybe you find someone who can write.'

They each carried a little spear over his ear. That was intended to take snuff out of a narrow cylindrical holder, and to scratch his head. I noticed that during the chat one of them inserted it in his ear, to clean something out.

They had already been informed that I was the Advocate who had saved Mberiora [Mbirioro Kasaona], and we were on friendly terms.

I asked the old Headman did he have many cattle, and was he rich.

He said he had a few cattle because he said that an old man must not say whether he is rich, I must ask the younger men. I asked one of them and he said that the old man was rich.

They all wore bangles around their wrists, and necklaces around their necks. I doubt whether they were qualified to vote, but how many whites are?

I asked how many wives the old man had. He had had 4, but two left him because he was too old. One of them, the older of the two, had gone back to her father, the younger one had married another man, who had as a consequence to give back the cattle and sheep that had originally been paid for her.

They had not had good rains and some of their cattle would later die.

Kapuo translated, and it was clear they understood each other well. I asked how he had become a headman, and he said that before his father died, Major ['Cocky'] Hahn¹⁸ had come there and he had told Hahn that his son should succeed him. Then I asked whether it was not the custom for the sister's son to succeed, and he said yes, but that in this case the son was still a suckling, so he was appointed.

In reply to me he said that no headman had ever been deposed by the government.

The interview lasted about an hour, and in order that they should not be tired out, I asked Kapuo what was the Herero word for 'Good-bye'. He said 'Karinawa'. So I gave the two headmen 50 cents each, and the other two twenty cents each. I shook hands with three of them and said 'Karinawa' and they replied in the same term, but the fourth one asked Kapuo something in Herero, and Kapuo said 'Good-bye'. So he smilingly said 'Good-bye'. We all burst out laughing and I left.

This same fellow had said that I should send him a pencil because his didn't work, so I gave him mine.

I had shown them a photo of a Himba couple and they examined it carefully and approved of it as correct. They said that the women still wore the three pronged headdress.

They still used the holy fire, to pray to their ancestors. (Kapuo said that Hosea also used the holy fire.) The fire is located outside their h... [page torn] between the hut and the kraal.

They said there were witchdoctors or medicine [men?] but they were generally regarded as swindlers.

29.11.67

Kapuo at home [read: at Goldblatt's home]

Says he was invited to Omaruru by the Hereros.

Met and chatted with Rhenish Missionary Kuhlmann, elderly man.

He was not very amiable.

Feared that Kapuo was there to induce the Omaruru Hereros to break away from the Rh. Mission.

But that was not his purpose.

Kuhlmann asked him why the Hereros at Windhoek and Okahandja had broken away. Kapuo replied that the Rhenish Mission was not neutral, but engaged in politics by leaning towards the Government.

The Mission should have had nothing to do with politics.

(Strange that this is the very view of Pastor Rhee [Reeh]¹⁹ in regard to the removal of secondary School from Karibib, and ultimately Paulinum to Bergdamara Homeland.)²⁰

[In the margin:] Tjetjo was rejected although the rightful heir on Kam[ahaeros] death because of opposition of a section led by Kapuo's grandfather.²¹

He says Nico[demus] left Okahandja for the Nosob because of disagreement with Samuel [Maharero].²²

The young Hereros who went to the Cape and came back complaining that the Rh. Mission did not educate Herero ministers.

[In the margin:] The Renish Mission's view

After 1923 the Hereros took to politics and were against the Rh. Church.

Look up annual report to League of Nations 1923-1924.



*Left:
Chief Hosea Kutako
photographed on 30 July
1967 by the editor of the
Allgemeine Zeitung,
Kurt Dahlmann*

*Right:
Clemens Kapuuo as
modelled by Irmhild
Gebhardt. He is seated next
to the bust in Gebhardt's
home in Windhoek on
16 November 1972*

This is the last entry in the notes that Goldblatt kept over the years of his conversations with Kapuuo and other African politicians though he continued for some time to meet Kapuuo "frequently", as he wrote to Ruth First in March 1968.²³ In his *History of South West Africa*, published in 1971, Goldblatt made no use of the historical information he obtained from his conversations on, for example, Herero history and culture, or the genocide, despite his insight that, as he wrote in the book's introduction, "the fate of the Black man ... must receive special emphasis". Instead, as he points out, he restricted himself to written records and bemoaned the fact that "everything that has been written on South West Africa has emanated from the White man. It is unfortunate that there are no corresponding records kept, which would enable us to see events through the eyes of the Black man. This is due to the fact that in the main he had no written language."²⁴ Goldblatt did, however, pass on some of his information, in particular the narrative of the Herero-German war as given to him by Kapuuo to Theo Sundermeier, who in the 1960s conducted extensive research on oral accounts among Herero on their history.²⁵

Endnotes

- 1 Goldblatt is referring to the book *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, by C.H.L. Hahn, H. Vedder and L. Fourie, published in 1928. There are two photographs of Hosea Kutako in the volume, one before p. 169 and one after p. 176.
- 2 A copy of the typed document is to be found in BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt PA.7.
- 3 As explained in endnote 1, chapter VI, the document records an oral account narrated by one of Kapuuo's uncles, Hija Usino. It had been typed up by Rev Karuaera before Kapuuo handed it over to Goldblatt.
- 4 This was probably Theodor Leutwein's memoir *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*. Berlin 1906.
- 5 Rochus Schmidt, *Deutschlands Kolonien. Ihre Gestaltung, Entwicklung und Hilfsquellen*. Berlin 1995 (2 vols.)
- 6 For an analysis of the significance of the dances and the praise poetry integrated with them, see Henrichsen (1999).
- 7 Whites had to obtain a permit to visit an African township.
- 8 Herero women throughout the 20th century often, and on a daily basis wore the so-called long Victorian dress and head-dress which the first generation of Christianised women had adopted in the late 19th century. For special occasions, particular textiles and colours were used.
- 9 Daniela Schlettwein remembers the evening having been announced to her by Goldblatt as "Mondtänze" (moon dances). As guests of Goldblatt, she and Carl Schlettwein sat next to Kapuuo, with blankets against the coldness. Pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen, May 2007.
- 10 In an interview with Dag Henrichsen, Windhoek, 6 September 2006.
- 11 See endnote 6.
- 12 See, for example, the report on such an event in the Old Location in 1960, in *South West News*, 5 March 1960, No 1, p.3.
- 13 Hoffmann (2006).
- 14 On the ordeal of Africans as prisoners-of-war in the concentration camps after 1904, see esp. Erichsen (2005).
- 15 See more on this below.
- 16 The same opinion of Kapuuo on "the Germans" is also cited by Ruth First (1963), p.31.
- 17 See also endnote 4, chapter III.
- 18 C.H.L. ('Cocky') Hahn was Native Commissioner of Kaoko (and other northern Namibian territories) from 1923 until 1939 and then briefly again in the late 1940s. Pers. comm. by Lorena Rizzo to Dag Henrichsen, 12 July 2010.
- 19 Missionary Reeh from the Rhenish Mission Society was the Secretary of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Namibia during the early 1970s. See Gockel (2010), p.220.
- 20 The Paulinum in the 1960s was a Theological Seminar for African students in Otjimbingue in the Damaraland reserve.
- 21 This is a reference to the succession struggles between Chief Tjetjo, Nikodemus Kavikunua and Samuel Maharero in the early 1890s.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 ICS, Ruth First Archives 1/3/9/5, Israel Goldblatt to Ruth First, 18.3.1968.
- 24 Goldblatt (1971), p.v. He points out that the exception for his study is the so-called diary of Hendrik Witbooi.
- 25 Sundermeier (1977), p.92.

VII "I act on my own responsibility": Israel Goldblatt's critics

In a letter to Randolph Vigne, vice-president of the South African Liberal party, Israel Goldblatt summed up his attitude when he wrote, in August 1961 only weeks before he first met Clemens Kapuu: "My attitude all along has been to be utterly independent of all outside bodies". Vigne had asked him to provide assessments of certain issues regarding South Africa's policies in Namibia, to which Goldblatt replied: "I do not wish to be the means of supplying information to organizations to be used by them as they desire." In a way, this guarded attitude would also be reflected in his careful approach to his future meetings with the African politicians. He ended his letter to Vigne with the emphatic statement: "I act on my own responsibility."¹

Israel Goldblatt's interests and involvement of the 1960s can be viewed as those of a dissident figure in Namibia's white community. In a society divided by apartheid, he not only believed in universal franchise and sympathised with national independence. He publicly emphasised the crucial role of the UN and criticised South Africa's legal position in the Namibian conflict. For a number of years, he maintained regular contacts with a few African nationalists, not only counselling them professionally but also for a while offering them classes during which he lectured about those structural aspects of the law and administration of the society which underpinned the colonial situation. However, he refused categorically to act in any overt political capacity and confined his role to a private sphere, this during a period of increasing radicalisation and internationalisation of the political situation in Namibia. Carefully guarding his independence, the limits of his involvement become quite apparent.

Although he understood his dealings as non-political, Israel Goldblatt nevertheless quickly became the target of harsh criticism by African politicians more radical than Clemens Kapuu and Hosea Kutako. Goldblatt might have read in SWANU's magazine *Freedom*, published out of Cairo, the attack, in 1964/5, on "liberals" in general, and on "a leading barrister and his daughter", in particular. The attack on Goldblatt and Karen Blum came from the sharp-minded and then strongly Maoist-oriented nationalist, the young *Jariretundu Kozonguizi*, president of SWANU, the most left-wing of the African political bodies inside and outside the country. Kozonguizi, who had lived in exile since 1959, emphatically rejected the notion that Goldblatt or any other "liberal" was playing a constructive role. He also repudiated Kapuu and his more conservative approach to politics in Namibia. His attack came shortly after the Herero Chief's Council, with Kapuu and Rev Karuaera in the lead, had formed NUDO, which, as already mentioned, was essentially an ethnically based modern political party of the Chief's Council.² Kozonguizi's attack originated from the increasingly antagonistic politics of Namibian nationalism which gave rise to differences between SWANU and the other African political organisations inside and outside the country.

Kozonguizi wrote:

Now who are these liberal characters engaged in the anti-SWANU campaign. These are in the main political cowards in their own community. Prominent amongst these is a leading Barrister whose contact with the Anti-Swanu elements in the Location is his own daughter ... We shall

not be surprised if we were to learn that Kapuuo's cabinet as announced with the formation of the National Unity Democratic Organisation [NUDO, in 1964] is actually counselled, advised and assisted by a sort of White-anti-SWANU-Non-Nationalist-Broederbond-like background. By South African political standards this will be a Progressive rather than a Liberal group which means liberals in the old tradition ('nothing wrong to have a cup of tea with a native as long as he knows his place') and absolutely not progressive at all.³ ... The choice is between the White Nationalists on the one hand and the African Nationalists and Socialists on the other. No room for Liberals or liberals be they white, yellow or black.

Kozonguizi also referred to "lectures on things like 'administration' to prepare for governing South West Africa in the future [which] have been given to Kapuuo and friends", these of course being the classes which Goldblatt, Kapuuo, Karuaera and others had set up in 1962/3. Kozonguizi also cited an "American Professor very much anti-SWANU", probably Professor Edwin Munger from Stanford University, who "was very much impressed during a visit to South West Africa by what he termed the German-Jew-Herero Group."⁴ Certainly, by 1966 or so, Goldblatt might have read about some of this when studying the testimony of Kurt Dahlmann, the well-informed editor-in-chief of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Windhoek, who was regarded by the South African Government as an expert on African politics in Namibia. He had joined the South African delegation for the SWA court case at the International Court of Justice in The Hague in October 1965. In his testimony to the ICJ, Dahlmann cited from Kozonguizi's document as proof of the "militant" attitude of, notably, SWANU "against White rule" and its opposition "to co-operation with the Whites".⁵ Shortly afterwards Dahlmann and Kozonguizi met in London where the latter explained to the journalist that 'liberals' were those, 'who in their own community had little or no influence and who have proven, that they are not successful in their (white) group'.⁶

Kozonguizi's radical views were not only directed at his political opponents inside Namibia but also had much to do, as Kozonguizi continued in his article in *Freedom*, with the support of the Liberal Party of South Africa for SWAPO, which he criticised heavily. In fact, his outrage already signalled the increasing isolation of SWANU, both inside the country and abroad. This was reflected in Kozonguizi's own political career. Shortly after meeting Dahlmann in London, he in fact withdrew from his SWANU positions and became a barrister in London; in 1969 he resigned from SWANU altogether and in 1976 returned to Namibia, ironically becoming the legal advisor of the very man and party he had criticised so heavily in the 1960s, Clemens Kapuuo and NUDO.⁷

More than 20 years later, Kozonguizi modestly rephrased his judgement on Goldblatt and his daughter Karen Blum. In 1988, now Minister of Justice in one of the so-called interim governments in Windhoek, under South African auspices, he gave a lecture on the Namibian liberation struggle at a NUDO Youth League rally. In this he categorically denied a historical role to "the white man ... in the struggle for liberation". However, according to the summary of his lecture in *The Namibian* newspaper, "apart from Michael Scott ... [he] named Advocate Israel Goldblatt and his daughter Karen, and Hannes Smith of the *Windhoek Observer* as whites who were 'prepared to ascertain the views of the black man'".⁸ Having conceded this, he went on to analyse the role of "the white man" in the liberation struggle and warned his young Namibian listeners that any involvement of "the white man" in the struggle "is only genuine as long as he is in a leadership position." He had clearly maintained his radical views. By way of conclusion, he confronted his listeners, perhaps out of personal disillusionment with the party politics of the 1960s, with the provocative question: "what the reason was for the weakness of the black man in taking political initiative and sustaining his leadership effectively".



*Left:
Jariretundu Kozonguizi
in the late 1960s*

*Right:
Randolph Vigne
in the 1960s*

Goldblatt, too, was soon facing some disillusionment himself. In its final chapters, his *History of South West Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth century* (1971), which he completed in August 1970, only months before he moved to Haifa in Israel, only analyses the SWA case in The Hague up to 1967, and the Old Location shooting incident of December 1959. It has nothing to say on African politics of the 1960s as he knew it and thus there is no mention of the turn of events in August 1966, when the first military confrontations between the South African army and SWAPO took place in northern Namibia. Typically for Goldblatt, he explained this absence with his generally reticent approach to politics. As he writes in the book's introduction, he wished to avoid "mixing history with current political controversy".⁹ Goldblatt does, however, provide an outlook with regard to the role of the UN for Namibia's future by stating: "The United Nations has declared itself powerless to enforce its claim to the exclusive control of South West Africa (Namibia), because the Permanent Members of the Council will not agree. ... At the same time, particularly with the express encouragement of the United Nations, terrorism acts are likely to continue, which on its part the South African Government will do everything in its power to repress."¹⁰ It thus seems that his political views, though not his legal assessment, on the prospect of a peaceful transfer to trusteeship changed significantly. Given the escalating political and military situation of the Namibia conflict, his moderate approach and emphasis on a peaceful transition, it seems, was eroded.

Importantly, such an approach could no longer accommodate politically a larger section of the African population. Ruth First had already read these signs in 1963 when she wrote: "There are still those in South West Africa who wait patiently for the U.N. to free them. But the young men have different ideas. They know that the struggle of the trust territories took place not so much at the U.N. as in Africa, in the trust territories themselves."¹¹ She cites, among others, Kozonguizi, who in 1962 had already buried "the reformist approach in the struggle for liberation ... reformism has had its time – 15 years of petitioning ... It is for us to find the most effective methods to liberate ourselves."¹²

As noted before, Israel Goldblatt's role gave rise to rumours and modest security manoeuvres, to acrimonious suspicion and other more pronounced reactions in the white and official sectors of society. For them, Goldblatt remained a dissident if not elusive figure, though it is interesting to note that here too, there was some kind of reassessment in the early 1970s. It is not surprising that the particular quotation from Goldblatt's book on the powerlessness of the UN and repressive South Africa as cited above was also used in the generally favourable

review of his book in the German daily, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in December 1971.¹³ The review, strangely enough, appeared under the heading 'Mit den Augen des schwarzen Mannes' [With the eyes of the black man], as if the reviewer had not read Goldblatt's introduction and his remark bemoaning the regrettable lack of African sources. The review pointed out that Goldblatt's historical narrative, despite having been influenced by 'East-German historiographical works', should not, despite 'certain similarities with communist authors', lead to conclusions about 'Goldblatt's political position'. As if to convince its readers on this point, the newspaper pointed out that: 'Goldblatt's sympathy for and commitment to the weak runs like a red thread through his life. This immediately places him, to a certain extent, in opposition to the ruling powers.' To exemplify this, the review did not, however, cite Goldblatt's support for the African cause, as one might expect, but instead recalled his plea as a lawyer during World War II for the 'needs of the wives of German internees as well as for the widows and orphans of the former [South African] enemy'!¹⁴ This argument intentionally, it seems, brought Goldblatt back into the cradle of the white community. He must have smiled wryly if and when he read this!¹⁵

Finally, Goldblatt's role, and its evaluation by others, would be incomplete without looking at the political party which Kozonguizi had attacked so heavily in 1964, the Liberal Party of South Africa. We know of its opinion of Goldblatt's endeavours during early 1961, when Goldblatt had not yet had contact with the African politicians. In a "Confidential Report to the National Committee of the Liberal Party of South Africa on the political situation and the prospects for non-racial activity"¹⁶ in Namibia, compiled in March of that year by the then vice-president of the Liberal Party, *Randolph Vigne* chronicled his impressions of a fact-finding mission to Namibia. He had been asked by SWAPO friends of the Liberal Party in Cape Town "to explore the possibility of setting up a non-racial political organization which would be allied to the Liberal Party."¹⁷ On Goldblatt, who had just published his "pamphlet" on the crucial role of the UN in the future of Namibia, he remarked as follows:

He probably understands the relationship of SWA to the UN better than anyone else. His recent booklet on the subject is an attempt to put the facts to South West Africans, who know nothing about the true facts of the case. As an amateur political philosopher, Goldblatt believes in universal franchise (I wonder if he is the only white man in SWA who does so?) and he cheerfully accepts the inevitability of the changeover. ... As with every white liberal I met, I urged him to make contact with non-whites, but I do not think he will do so. He is a man of firm principle, but he is too comfortable, and I think he will do nothing positive to encourage the security police to watch his movements, tap his telephone, etc., as they certainly would do if he should make any move in this direction.¹⁸

Vigne went on to mention a few other white politicians, lawyers and journalists whom he thought "could help in the changeover in South West", like Ferdinand Lempp and "perhaps Mrs Margo [sic] Vaatz", both of whom had been initial members of Goldblatt's "Study Group". He also mentions the lawyer Joachim Berker and Dan Minnaar, the editor of the *Windhoek Advertiser*, but refers in particular to the young barrister Bryan O'Linn who "as a possible man of action in future SWA politics ... impressed me more than anyone, among the White South West Africans."¹⁹ O'Linn, who started his legal career in Windhoek in early 1961, apparently expressed critical ideas about the apartheid system in Namibia as early as the late 1950s, and in the 1960s as a member of the UNSWP, he attempted to move this white opposition party into more progressive politics, with little success, as he himself had to concede.²⁰

Vigne's conclusions for action in Namibia by the Liberal Party were muted:

White liberal cooperation is in real demand at this stage, judging by the warmth of my reception everywhere. But this stage may pass quickly, unless a catalyst is found between the fear-ridden white liberals and the isolated black politicians. If Goldblatt is right, and it is an impossibility to build bridges at this stage, the best hope of bringing about a non-racial group inside SWA and avert a racial clash, is to afford travel and study to some of the young African leaders mentioned. This could temper what may otherwise become desperate anti-whitism and a move towards the East.²¹

Vigne, like Goldblatt, was worried about radicalisation of any sort. Despite Vigne's prediction, Goldblatt did, a few months after their conversation, meet Clemens Kapuuo, Levy Nganjone, Rev Karuaera and other Namibian nationalists for the first time and together they initiated the classes and continued to meet, notwithstanding the modest intimidation efforts for Goldblatt by the Security Police that Vigne foresaw. It could well be that Vigne's conversations with Goldblatt acted as a catalyst for Goldblatt's attempts towards "building bridges", though it is important to note that it was Clemens Kapuuo who knocked at the door of Goldblatt's chambers!

Endnotes

- 1 NAN, AACRLS 096, Goldblatt to Vigne, 5.8.1961.
- 2 Kozonguizi saw NUDO as an attempt to outmanoeuvre SWANU. See his document "A brief history of the liberatory movement in South West Africa", part I., in ICJ, Ruth First Archives, 2/17/5.
- 3 This is a reference to the Progressive Party in South Africa, formed in 1959 as a party more conservative than the Liberal Party of South Africa, which upheld the vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa.
- 4 Munger had once briefly visited Goldblatt in Windhoek. See Munger (1983), p.285.
- 5 Kurt Dahlmann at the public hearing on 9 October 1965 in The Hague, quoted in ICJ (1966), Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents, Vol. XI, p.486.
- 6 As reported by Dahlmann after his meeting in an article entitled: "Kozonguizi, die Liberalen und ich" ('Kozonguizi, liberals and myself'), in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22.10.1965.
- 7 Ruth First Archives 1/7/1/4: "An open letter to the people of Namibia from Jariretundu Kozonguizi", ca 1972. According to this document, he withdrew from politics in 1966 and in 1969 resigned from SWANU. He returned to Namibia in 1976 and became a "Herero delegate" to the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference. See his obituary, in *The Namibian* 2 February 1995. Also Pütz (1987), pp.51f.
- 8 *The Namibian*, 9 December 1988, p.9.
- 9 Goldblatt (1971), p.vi.
- 10 Ibid, p.261. On his history of the 19th century which, as the AZ was to point out, resembled closely some interpretations on the role of missionaries and the white administration that had so far been put forward "only by the historiography of the Soviet part of Germany ... and eastern authors", see the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.12.1971, No. 231.
- 11 First (1963), p.240. See also p.204.
- 12 Quoted from First (1963), p.204.
- 13 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.12.1971, No 231. It is not known who wrote the review.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 In one of the few reviews of Goldblatts book, Horst Drechsler, the wellknown GDR historian on African history, pointed out that while the author lacked scholarly experience, he "rejected ... any colonial rule and suppression of the Namibians". Drechsler (1989), p.29. Whether this assessment makes Goldblatt's *History* a piece of anti-colonial writing, needs consideration. See also the reflections by Christopher Saunders (2008) on "some roots of anti-colonial historical writing about Namibia" which does not refer to Goldblatt's *History*.
- 16 NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 17 Randolph Vigne: "Standing by Swapo – British Campaigning for Namibia", p.2 (conference paper, www.anc.org.za/un/conference/rvigne.html, accessed 5.7.2007).
- 18 NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 See O'Linn (c 2001) pp.66, 65ff., and also Christo Lombard's foreword to the book, pp.vii, xf. In the 1970s, O'Linn led the Federal Party which opted for non-racial politics.
- 21 NAN, AACRLS 096, R.Vigne: "Confidential Report", 1961.

VIII Editing Israel Goldblatt's Notes

This book has been long in its making, for reasons which reflect aspects of the nature of Israel Goldblatt's notes and personal archives. This concluding chapter provides the reader with important information about how and why we edited the notes in the way we did.

This book presents transcriptions of handwritten, generally untitled notes which Israel Goldblatt kept irregularly between 1961 and 1967 on his encounters and conversations with Namibian nationalists. They comprise about 40 pages, mainly written on the back of a lengthy contract concerning electricity supply undertaking for the municipality of Outjo and kept in a separate file. The handwriting is very difficult to decipher. The book also includes a few other documents, including letters and other writings on very thin sheets and on a diverse array of topics. All these papers had moved with Israel Goldblatt when he settled in Haifa in 1970, and, in 1980, in Johannesburg with his daughter Naomi Jacobson. They remained with Naomi after his death in 1982. Since the late 1980s, Naomi Jacobson has copied some of the Namibia-related materials for the archives of the Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB) in Switzerland. These included a few letters, some newspaper clippings and two manuscripts, one of which is also published here: a biography (by an unknown author) of Chief Hosea Kutako. (See the annex.) The other is a rare document entitled "Herero-German war, 1904-1907. How the war started", a record written in English of an oral account circulating among the Herero on the war of 1904 which Goldblatt had requested from Kapuu.¹ Apart from this, Carl Schlettwein, the founder of the BAB, had formed a small personal archive² on Israel Goldblatt. Carl Schlettwein and his wife Daniela had known him since the late 1950s.

It was only in early 2003 when going through Israel Goldblatt's papers once again with Dag Henrichsen that Naomi turned over the pages of the Outjo municipality document and discovered the handwritten notes. Though difficult to decipher, the importance of these papers was instantly recognised, and Naomi set out to transcribe them. This proved to be a difficult task, not only because of her father's script but also because the papers themselves were no longer in chronological order. Eventually, the papers and a few other files relating to Namibian topics were handed over to the BAB for microfilming. Thus nearly all the material in this book, as well as additional material which had been found up to 2003 but has not been included here are accessible on film in the archives of the BAB.

In October 2005, when Karen Marshall visited the BAB, extensive transcriptions of the handwritten notes and other documents were undertaken. The work was completed in March 2006 in Hoekwil (South Africa), when both daughters transcribed the remaining sections together with Dag Henrichsen. By then, both had also found a few more documents, including a letter from Ruth First to their father, as well as some photographs. These later documents have only partly been copied for the BAB archives.

Initially, it was thought that Israel Goldblatt's notes could be presented as an annotated source text, with an introduction. It was soon realised, however, that his notes were often quite cryptic and related to persons and incidents no longer known to a wider readership. It thus became increasingly apparent that the notes would require additional texts in order to create a readable account. In discussions on which course to take for the publication, it was decided to group

Goldblatt's notes as far as possible into themes, and to introduce and interleave them with additional texts. Accordingly, in May 2008, Karen Marshall and Dag Henrichsen rearranged the notes, though without altering the original writing. The original grammar and spelling of names by Israel Goldblatt has been fully retained. Apostrophes and other punctuation have not been altered, nor have conflicting name spellings been streamlined. Illegible phrases or other uncertainties in Goldblatt's texts are clearly marked by square brackets ([]), and any additional information to his text as well as those few instances where we decided to leave out information are likewise marked ([...]). It should also be pointed out that in a few instances (for example with regard to Israel Goldblatt's entry for 4 July 1964) the various topics of one entry have been cut up and included with the original date in various chapters; hence, in these cases, the date also appears in square brackets.

Dag Henrichsen then set out to write the various introductory texts, including brief biographies of the African nationalists, in order to develop a general narrative for the book. He also annotated the notes as fully as possible. Given the dearth of historiographical research on Namibia's history of the 1960s, this turned out to be quite challenging. Readers will hopefully find useful the explanations and further references to some of the names and often enigmatic references by Goldblatt to events, though they cannot expect an explanation of every event or identification of every person mentioned.

To annotate the writings as fully as possible and in order to sketch the many contexts which are relevant to Goldblatt's notes, Dag Henrichsen made use of various source materials. Conversations with and explanations by Goldblatt's daughters Naomi and Karen provided a great deal of relevant information as did conversations or interviews with Rev Karuera (Windhoek), Kurt Dahlmann (Baden-Baden), Tilman Gebhardt (Frankfurt), Daniela Schlettwein-Gsell (Basel), Piet Swanepoel (South Africa) and Japie Basson (Clifton). Also useful were the interviews which the historian Tony Emmett conducted in Windhoek in 1978/9 with Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Kenneth Abrahams, Emil Appolus and Mburumba Kerina while doing research on his PhD on Namibian politics up to 1966.³ Furthermore, Tony Emmett's research archives contain copies of the so-called Kozonguizi papers which he was allowed to copy in the late 1970s from the private archives of this Namibian politician. The archives of Ruth First, housed at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, were consulted, and Randolph Vigne (Cape Town and London) and Werner Hillebrecht of the National Archives of Namibia provided access to a few crucial documents from the Vigne collection. Another body of interviews and documentation stemmed from a previous research project of Dag Henrichsen and the BAB in connection with the publication of the first African-owned newspaper in Namibia, *South West News*.⁴ The report on African political parties in SWA, which Kurt Dahlmann, then the editor-in-chief of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Windhoek, submitted to the International Court of Justice in 1965 as a member of the South African delegation, was likewise used.⁵ Lastly, and rather importantly, was a collection of newspaper cuttings from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Windhoek Advertiser* on political events of the 1960s, which the Swiss journalist Hans Jenny had accumulated and which are today also housed at the BAB. Jenny published regularly on Namibian topics from the 1960s and had briefly met Israel Goldblatt and also Clemens Kapuuo and Hosea Kutako when researching his book *Südwestafrika*.⁶ These cuttings were further expanded by research in these two newspapers for specific dates and topics in relation to Goldblatt's notes, which Angela Flamm-Schneeweiss conducted at the request of Dag Henrichsen in the extensive newspaper collection housed at the Sam Cohen Library in Swakopmund. It is noteworthy that the Namibian newspapers (and the many photographs published therein) have so far been virtually ignored by historians, despite the fact that they were not only a platform targeted by African politicians in the country

but also provide other crucial information on African developments, not only those of the white community. Finally, the comprehensive Namibia library of the BAB proved, as always, to be crucial.

It should be pointed out that Dag Henrichsen did not access the records of various courts as kept in the National Archives of Namibia, nor any of the archives of the various legal bodies in Namibia in which Israel Goldblatt was active from the 1920s. This clearly would have exceeded the purpose of this publication, though they would obviously form a crucial source for an in-depth assessment of Israel Goldblatt's long professional career in Namibia. The available finding aids and databases at the National Archives of Namibia, however, were skimmed with the help of Werner Hillebrecht for documentation from and on Goldblatt, to determine, in particular, the activities of the South African Security Branch in Windhoek in the 1960s. But we drew a blank. The whereabouts of any files of the Security Branch remain unknown to this date.⁷ With regard to Brendan Simbwaye, whose relationship with Israel Goldblatt is a recurrent subject of this book, use was made of the PhD thesis by Bennett Kangumu on the history of Caprivi and Simbwaye's role in the liberation struggle.⁸ Kangumu drew on court files relating to the history of Simbwaye.

This publication is a tribute not only to Israel Goldblatt but also to the men and few women whom he mentions in his notes. It was decided to include as many photographs of them as possible, and in particular photographs dating from the period of his writings. Some crucial photographs of Hosea Kutako and Clemens Kapuuu originate from the photo archives of Hans and Trudy Jenny, housed in the BAB, as are the photo archives of Anneliese Scherz, who photographed the Herero Chief's Council, Hosea Kutako and Levy Nganjone in or around 1956. The photographs depicting Israel Goldblatt are in the possession of Naomi Jacobson and Karen Marshall, while several individuals, including Ute Meyer (Windhoek), Tilman Gebhardt (Frankfurt), Rev Karuaera and Johanna Kahatjipara (Windhoek) and Dieter Hinrichs (Munich) have generously contributed photographs from their private holdings. All these photographs and a few from the Windhoek newspapers — Kurt Dahlmann most probably being the photographer — put faces to the people with whom Israel Goldblatt engaged and about whom he wrote.

All these written and visual archives and documentation have made it possible to enhance the contexts of Israel Goldblatt's notes and, thus, his activities and encounters. At the same time, these additional documents and the texts written by Dag Henrichsen have transformed the very ephemeral character of Israel Goldblatt's notes and, in a way, fixed them in an interpretative framework.

Apart from what Israel Goldblatt jotted down and commented on, his notes can also be regarded as a fascinating example of the personal production of a dissenting archive concerning personal encounters in apartheid society. It goes without saying that Goldblatt's notes say much about the writer, while conveying only some information about those he wrote about. This information and any information which he does not provide were almost certainly conditioned by the circumstances under which he wrote. His notes then cannot be regarded as comprehensive accounts of his conversations with the African nationalists, nor of their biographies and political activities.

In this respect it is important to refer again to the impressions of Naomi Jacobson and Karen Marshall on their father's writings and papers as set out in their introduction to this book:

All his life Israel Goldblatt wrote notes on subjects he was interested in at the time, or in relation to something he had just read or that he was thinking about. The notes might be made on the back of tissue boxes, or on scraps of paper. One file exists, entitled 'Random Thoughts', which covers an amazing array of comments on or extracts about various subjects, including poems read, or verses he made up, written on 'random' pieces of paper! At other times he would make notes in the margin of books he was reading or studying.

Acknowledgements

The final manuscript of this book was completed in close collaboration between Dag Henrichsen and Karen Marshall, with Naomi Jacobson resolving, as always, questions on details when the other two failed. Just as the long production of this publication fostered a mutual friendship over two continents, we would also like to acknowledge our appreciation of those who facilitated our endeavours, notably Anne Blonstein (Basel), Cynthia Cohen (Paris), Angela Flamm-Schneeweiss (Swakopmund), Kurt Dahlmann (Baden–Baden), Philippe Dumas (Sierentz), Werner Hillebrecht (Windhoek), Johanna Kahatjipara (Windhoek), Rev Bartholomews Karuaera (Windhoek), Zedekia Ngavirue (Windhoek), Daniela Schlettwein-Gsell (Basel), Randolph Vigne (London), Steven van Wolputte (Leuven) as well as the staff of the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, and especially Petra Kerckhoff, who was responsible for the book's design.

Endnotes

- 1 BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt PA.7. The typed document has no author. According to Rev Karuaera (in an interview with Dag Henrichsen on 9 September 2006 in Windhoek) the account was narrated by an uncle of Clemens Kapuuo, Hija Usino. In 1904, Usino, a son of the brother of the wellknown evangelist Elia Kandirikiria was a soldier in the Herero army and fled with Samuel Maharero to Bechuanaland. He returned to Namibia after World War II and later went blind. Karuaera vividly remembered typing up the narrative before giving it to Kapuuo, who passed it on to Goldblatt. Goldblatt in turn gave a copy to Theo Sundermeier who used it in his analysis of the war in his book *Die Mbanderu* (1977), p. 92f.. Sundermeier correctly states that the account of the war was made to Kapuuo by 'old Herero', at Goldblatt's request.
- 2 BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7). For the inventory of the 1990s see Henrichsen (1996), pp.16–20..
- 3 BAB, Personenarchiv Tony Emmett.
- 4 Henrichsen (1997).
- 5 BAB, Personenarchiv Kurt Dahlmann: "The parties on the non-Whites in South West Africa", n.d.
- 6 Jenny (1966). An English edition appeared only in 1976. See also endnote 9, chapter V.
- 7 Werner Hillebrecht to Dag Henrichsen, e-mail, 4.7.2007, 23.7.2010.
- 8 Kangumu (2008). This thesis will be published shortly in the *Basel Namibia Studies Series*.

I Letters

Letters between Brendan Simbwaye and Israel Goldblatt, 1966 - 1969¹

Brendan Simbwaye, who is introduced in chapters II and IV of this book, and Israel Goldblatt saw each other at least twice, in 1964 and 1966. They remained in contact by correspondence until at least 1969.

Simbwaye to Goldblatt, 18 July 1966

SW Africa Central Prison

Windhoek

18th July 1966

[Prison date stamp: 6.7.1966]

The Advocate W. Goldblatt [sic]

Windhoek

Sir,

I write to ask if you can contact the commissioner for me on the following terms of accusations according to the order served on me in 1964.

I hereby accuse the Administration of violating their own made order section 2.

(a) I claimed my goods such [as] books and the books were claimed on 10th October 1964 at Ohopoho, The Universal Home lawyer, the Works [?] of Government and many others.

(b) The book shelf, but nothing has been brought in. And several Representation [sic] has been put through magistrate at WARMBAD [sic] and these it had not reply.

b) [sic] The Administration has illegal and inhuman restricted me at WARMBAD, by not supplying me with human conditions [of] food. I have to go on begging and Sergeant and Magistrate of Karasburg are the witnesses.

c) The Administration bought me one pair trousers, one shirt, two small Blankets at 14 s each, no shoes, no bed etc.

d) I have to use a sack as a blanket at all seasons and I bet you can see Sergeant will tell you the truth, and he has petitioned for better conditions, but no reply. And yet the law which had removed from the prison not from Caprivi Strip - that I could fetch my good, was supposed to compensent [sic] me in full. The[ly] pay me £2 for food which is too mean compared to the standard of living I had, and the high cost of living at WARMBAD.

The Administration ascertains that I should get employment, but who can employ a politician? This the Magistrate of Karasburg has proved himself that there [is] no one to employ me. It is

law which brought me at WARMB. which should take care of me. I cannot be killed simple because I claim my constitutional rights.

For the above I demand a damage or I will be compelled to put forward the case on International line.

Furthermore the educational facilities of my family is hampered.

With best wishes and regards to you and your family,
Sincerely yours,
Brendan K Simbwaye
[signed]

Having received the letter, Goldblatt followed things up as his notes, added to the letter, indicate:

He can get employment by the Department in the Reserve at R 18 per month.
I saw the official in Bantu Affairs on 22.7.66
He seemed to resent my presence and was disgruntled. Very different from his predecessor v.d. Wath.
Nevertheless he said he would deal with the matter.

Goldblatt to Simbwaye, 23 July 1966

P.O.Box 242
Windhoek
23.7.66

Dear Mr. Brendan Simbwaye

I have received your letter. I went to the Bantu Affairs Dept. yesterday and explained your complaints and requests.

The gentleman who deals with these matters told me that he had received a letter from you.

He told me that he would deal with your matter and reply to you.

Amongst other things he said he was writing to Pretoria with a view to getting your books and your bookshelf down to Warmbad from the Caprivi strip. He has only been here for less than 2 years and did not know that you had been taken away from the Windhoek Gaol to Ohopoho and so you could not take these articles with you.

Now that he understands the position he will attend to it.

Furthermore he said that you can get employment under the Government and that you would get paid 18 Rand for working in the location.

Apparently there is nothing that can be offered you, by which your experience as a teacher can be made use of.

In the Order that was served on you in October 1964 it was explained that you could have close relatives join you at Government expense, and also "with due regard to transport problems" (whatever that may mean, but I presume it refers to delay in sending the things to you) "the items of personal property indicated by you".

The official whom I saw said it would take some time to have your books and bookshelf transported from the Caprivi strip.

He said that your wife and children were in Zambia.

Finally he said he had no objection to your sending me a copy of the letter which he was sending to you.

Yours sincerely,

Adv. I. Goldblatt Q.C.

P.S. Are there any other personal articles which you have at the Caprivi Strip and which you may wish to have at Warmbad?

If so write to the Commissioner of Bantu Affairs, Windhoek.

Goldblatt to Simbwaye, 27 March 1968

This letter, a handwritten draft, includes passages deleted by Israel Goldblatt which are included here and indicated as such. The final typed-up letter (without the deleted passages) bears the date 26 [!] March 1968.

S.W.Africa
27 March 1968

Dear Mr. Simbwaye,

Your registered N/O/P/1/68. Following on my recent letter to you in reply to yours of 7 March 1968² I have recovered from my illness and now let you know the legal position in regard to your detainment.

(1) It is true that the United Nations passed a Resolution terminating the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa.

The South African Government has however refused to recognize the legality of this Resolution, and the question now becomes a political one, that is, in how far the United Nations will be able to give effect to its Resolution.

[[deleted:]] From what I hear over the wireless various steps are contemplated to give such effect, among others the Council there being an attempt by the 7 member countries constituting the Council for South West African affairs to enter the Territory, in order to exercise the authority of the United Nations. But whether this will be successful is another matter, and it seems - you will know that - likely that as in the past the South African Government will refuse to allow any organisation which is a part of the United Nations to enter. [end of deletion]]

I am certain that a South African Court will not hold that the Resolution deprives South Africa, of what it claims to be, its authority in this Territory.

This means that the conflict between South Africa and the United Nations will continue ([deleted:] and you know) but the whole matter is purely political, and I can be of no assistance to you on this aspect.

([deleted:] The legality of the Resolution could only be tested in the International Court at The Hague, and whatever the outcome may be, it will be as long to decide the matter, as the previous litigation and with that aspect, I really have nothing to do.)

(2) In regard to your detention you originally were ordered on 24 Sept. 1964 to leave the Caprivi Zipfel for Ohopoho.

This order, as I explained to you at the time (deleted: you came to see me) of your removal in 1964, is perfectly legal.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development had the power in terms of section 1 (S.W.A.) of Proclamation No 15 of 1928 ([deleted:] to make the order), read with section 3 of the South African Proclamation No 147 of 1939, to make that order.

But you now tell me that no order was served on you for your removal from Ohopoho to Warmbad.

I have been under the impression that such an order was served.

I should like you to be certain whether you were removed without an order being served on you.

If your removal was effected without an order by the Minister it is in my opinion illegal, and if you will be again removed, as you fear, to some other place, again without a proper order, it will also be illegal.

It is true that section 2 of Proclamation No 15 of 1928 provides "that the Minister shall not be subject to any Court of law for or by reason of any order, notice, rule or regulation professed to be issued or made or of any other act whatsoever professed to be committed, ordered, permitted or done in the exercise of the powers and authority conferred by this Proclamation", but in my opinion this would not prevent the court from interfering if no order was made at all, by the Minister, for your removal.

In regard to your complaint about being restricted to the Reserve, I am afraid there is no legal remedy.

([deleted:] Assuming that) If you were legally removed to Warmbad, it will depend upon the terms contained in the order for your removal, under what conditions you are to stay there.- ([deleted:] - no court would enquire into the humanity of these conditions.)

In the case of your removal to Ohopoho, the terms as contained in the Order, were that "you shall reside at a place to be indicated to you by the Senior Official of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development."

If a similar order was made for Warmbad, and you were required by the Senior Official of the Department to reside in the reserve, I am afraid there is nothing to be done in the matter. No

court could interfere in the matter.

But everything depends upon whether you were indeed served with an order as indicated above.

If you let me know what the correct position is I shall give the matter further consideration.

Yours
sincerely,

Simbwaye to Goldblatt, 10 June 1969

c/o Native Commissioner
Private Bag 2005
Welwitschia
10th June 1969

Advocate
I. Goldblatt Q.C.
PO Box 242
Windhoek
SW Africa

Sir,

I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of 12th Dec. 1968 and the recent note of 6th May 1969.³ Both notes were handed to me through the Office of the Chief Native Commissioner solely.

But my acknowledgment note of the receipt of your letter of 12th Dec. 1968 was misdirected. Because I made a mistake by giving an ordinary man to hand the letter to the Commissioner and the man missed the letter. And it was during the absence of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Welwitschia.

All the while I had intention that my reply to your note has reached you. But when the chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Welwitschia returned in Office in May 1969, he refused receiving the letter. This we attribute the mistake to me by giving a letter to a dishonest man.

And I sincerely regret for keeping you in an impatience mood of receiving my reply.

My reply was attached with three petition copies, one for you, one for the chief Justice of Supreme Court of Windhoek and for the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Windhoek. I made such legal petition in a formal way testing the legality of S.A. Gov. If she ever has legal jurisdiction to hold political freedom fighters in secret detention indefinitely, without proper legal treatment. And in defiance [sic] of the UN resolution in S.W.A.

I can not explain the whole layout of the formal legal petition notes. And I intend to make them again to you and the Chief Justice of Windhoek, and I will post them in a Registered Letter. I seek your immediate advice in this case, if you can appeal to the chief Bantu Affairs Commis-

sion to allow me permission to come and have personal interview with you and be back to my detention farm [?].

I made an attempt through Chief Bantu Affairs of Welwitschia. But such powers of granting me permission are beyond his official capacity, he advised me. And I understood his point of view and the position of the situation. Any human and reasonable man can [sic] do. He frankly advised me to make an personal application to Pretoria through the chief commissioner of Windhoek. But I thought things will be too late and many letters I made to Pretoria I only recieve a negative verbal replies.

I have gone as far as up to the maximum human patience and tolerance in these illegal secret detention for a period of about 5 years indefinitely. I have no another alternative, I have only to inform the Law to intervene and take its course between me and the authorities. So that the situation can be straightened and the position revised in a new phase.

Since this country is under theoretical political diplomacy's control internationally I will also appeal to the international organisation for assistance.

And since my organisation has strong affiliation with SWAPO, or I may put it that the whole of my organisation's Cabinet are in SWAPO and this is official, and non-secret I will appeal for grounds to facilitate the court, if you approve of it.

It is my fundamental legal right to get redress to court if I feel oppressed, or illegal detained by the Authority. It is done any where, it is done in Rhodesia and S.Africa and it can also apply to the citizens of S.W.A. There is no another alternative course and a legal one, just this one can take.

If they leave me to go to Zambia, then I will go and forget the past.

In your note of 12th Dec. 1968 you requested if the Zambia Gov. are in the position of recieving me. Definitely yes. On the basis of Refugism. Above all I have a home in Zambia at my parents in law. And some of my properties are with them.

You further requested me in your note of 6th May 1969, if I recieve the letters from my wife. Surely I do often. And secretly she informed me that she has passed her final examination medically as a staff nurse in May this year with flying colours. And on 15th July she will be on her new appointment in the city of Ndola Hospital Zambia. And she can not come here.

If you were in my shoes, you would feel it that it is intellectual massacre, mental oppression and moral torture to keep an elite on the farm out from public life, detained secretly, and without legal treatment by indefinitely. It is against the fundamental Rights of man and moral law. And what can make the situation change, is the action of the law and [this] is the only the right channel.

With this I have the honour to remain

Yours sincerely

Brendan K. Simbwaye

May God bless you

Letter from Clemens Kapuuo to Israel Goldblatt, 1971⁴

The following letter reached Israel Goldblatt in Israel to which he had moved in late 1970.

PO Box 7043
Windhoek S.W.A.
28. January 1971

Dear Mr. Goldblatt,

I thank you very very much for the postcard you sent me.

We are still doing very well here except that I miss you very much. I miss you so much that I often expect to see you when I pass the Johannesburg Building Society's building where your office is.

I am very grateful to you for the legal advice you used to give me. The legal advice was of immense help to the entire Herero nation.

I am opposed by a handful of Hereros about 10 men. They are secretly assisted by the Government and often hold meetings with Government officials.

Although the Government rarely allows nonwhites to leave the country seven of the ten Hereros were allowed in one day to go to Botswana and spent a week in Botswana. The aim was to get support from the Hereros in Botswana and probably to influence them against me.

I doubt very much that they will succeed as I have the support of the bulk of the Hereros in South West Africa.

We are busy raising funds among the Hereros in South West Africa for the grave of the late Chief Hosea Kutako. We want to get a very good tombstone whose value will be between R200 and R300. We hope to unveil the tombstone on the 25 August 1971.

I hope to write to you again in about two weeks time.

With my very best wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,

C. Kapuuo

Letter from Israel Goldblatt to a Namibian newspaper, 1978⁵

Advocate I. Goldblatt
105 Natishbi Street
Haifa, Israel
28th March, 1978

Sir,
The news of Clemens Kapuuu' tragic death came as a great shock to me.

From the time that he first came to see me in 1960 until my departure for Israel in 1970, our association was of the closest nature.

During that period I suppose there was no other white member of the South West Africa community who was so intimate with him. I append portion of a letter which he sent to me in 1971.

PO Box 7043
Windhoek S.W.A.
28. January 1971

Dear Mr. Goldblatt,

I thank you very very much for the postcard you sent me.

We are still doing very well here except that I miss you very much. I miss you so much that I often expect to see you when I pass the Johannesburg Building Society's building where your office is. [portion of letter ends here]

Clemens Kapuuu was a fine character, cultured, dignified, a man of integrity with a sense of humour.

He was not only a natural leader of the Hereros but enjoyed the respect and indeed the cooperation of the members of the other non-white nationalities in the Territory.

There was complete trust between us.

Unfortunately the Administration prevented his contacts with the Ovambos, but even from the remotest parts of the Okavango men who were in trouble could come to him for assistance.

I recollect on one occasion when I was on a visit to the almost blind Hosea Kutako at Clemens' house, how affectionately the old Chief put his hand on Clemens' shoulder saying 'This is my right hand.'

And indeed he was, and it was only natural for him to succeed Hosea in the Chieftainship upon his death.

His further rise to eminence in the political field, after my departure, is well known, but his personal friendship will long remain with me as a treasured memory.

Yours
Advocate I. Goldblatt

Letter from Israel Goldblatt to Randolph Vigne, 1961⁶

Randolph Vigne, Vice-President of the Liberal Party of South Africa, had visited Windhoek and also spoke to Israel Goldblatt in March 1961. (See chapter V of this book.) For the following months they kept up a brief correspondence.

Windhoek
5 August 1961

Dear Mr. Vigne,

I received your letter.⁷

The matter of R v [Rex versus] Floris Louw⁸ is going on appeal to Bloemfontein.

I do not know whether in the circumstances you still want the record, but I have asked the Registrar when having the record copied to keep a copy for me, together with a copy of the judgement in the local court.

He is not certain whether he will be able to let me have a copy because it is already being typed, but will do his best.

In regard to the other matter I am afraid I cannot undertake the task and cannot think of anyone else.

You see I do not wish to be the means of supplying information to organisations to be used by them as they desire.

My attitude all along has been to be utterly independent of all outside bodies.

You will appreciate that I do not want to be a channel of communication with some organisations over whose use of my material I have no control – however honest may be its intentions.

I may say that I have been approached from another source for the same material, but I have had to turn the request down for the reason given.

That I act on my own responsibility you will see from the fact that Struik the bookseller of Cape Town is publishing a compilation of mine, somewhat more detailed than the pamphlet.⁹

That was an interesting article of Duncan's in the New Republic.¹⁰

Kind regards yours sincerely,
I. Goldblatt.

Endnotes

- 1 All letters are from BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).
- 2 This letter could not be traced.
- 3 Both letters could not be traced.
- 4 This letter is from BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).
- 5 BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7). This letter seems not to have been published.
- 6 NAN, AACRLS 096, R. Vigne Collection, No 21.
- 7 This letter could not be traced.
- 8 Randolph Vigne cannot recall this case. Pers. comm. to Dag Henrichsen, 15 April 2006.
- 9 Goldblatt (1961).
- 10 A reference to Patrick Duncan's article in the *New Republic* (Washington D.C.) entitled "South Africa: America could help", 3 July 1961. Pers. comm. from Randolph Vigne to Dag Henrichsen, 15 April 2006.

II Political Parties¹

The following handwritten notes have no author. The handwriting could be that of Clemens Kapuuo. A reference in the text to the imprisoned Namibians on Robben Island (South Africa) indicates that they were written after February 1968, the month in which 37 Namibians were convicted in the so-called Tuhadeleni Trial in Pretoria and were transferred to the infamous island prison.²

1. Ovamboland People Organisation (OPO) was founded in 1958. The President was Mr. Sam Nujoma.

2. (SWANU) South West Africa National Union was founded in 1959. The President was Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi. The majority of the members were Hereros. Disagreements started in the Organisation because the youths did not want Chief Hosea Kutako or any other Chief to be the leader. They wanted any other person to be the President but not the Chiefs.

The result was that the majority of the Hereros resigned from the organisation. The Herero nation had great confidence in the leadership of Chief Hosea Kutako and they did not want any other person to be the leader of the organisation.

SWANU cannot function properly today because it has very few members.

SWAPO. Mr. Sam Nujoma and some members of the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) thought the name OPO was not suitable because the Organisation was intended for all the people of South West Africa and not merely the Ovambos and so the name was changed and it became SWAPO in 1960.

Mr. Sam Nujoma became the President of (SWAPO) South West Africa People's Organisation. SWAPO has become silent because many of the leaders are in jail at Roben [sic] Island and those who are not in jail are afraid to speak for fear that they might be arrested.

(NUDO) National Unity Democratic Organisation was founded in 1964. The aim was to establish an organisation for all the people of South West Africa, and to have the Chiefs of the tribes in South West Africa on the executive Committee. NUDO is still in existence.

(SWANIO) South West Africa National Independence Organisation. The Organisation was founded by Mr. Gertze. It was founded at Keetmanshoop. It has very few members because the majority of the Namas are under the Headmen.

The aim of all these Organisations was freedom and independence for the people of South West Africa and they were all opposed to South West Africa being governed by South Africa.

Endnotes

1 BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).

2 On the trial see esp. Namhila (2005), chapter VI.

III Biography of Chief Hosea Kutako¹

The typewritten biography of Chief Hosea Kutako who is introduced in chapter II of this book, has no author. Information in the text indicates that it was written in 1961. The text was possibly initiated by the Herero Chief's Council and perhaps handed over to the UN emissary Carpio when he visited Windhoek in May 1962. (See Israel Goldblatt's reference to this visit in his essay "Growth of a Rumour" in chapter V of this book.) Goldblatt gave a copy of the biography to the theologist Theo Sundermeier who conducted extensive research into Herero history during the 1960s.²

Chief Hosea Kutako was born in 1870 at Okahurimehi between Etjo and Ozohungu in the district of Okahandja. He attended school at Omburo where he was baptized. He accompanied his father when his father was transferred to Ehuameno. He was at Ehuameno with his father when war broke out between the Hereros and the German[s] in 1904.

Chief Hosea's father named Mutanga, was a clergyman of the Rhenish Mission Church at Omburo in the Omaruru district. Chief Hosea Kutako's mother's name was Ngarisemo. Her father's name was Ngura.

When the war broke out in 1904 at Okahandja which was the capital town during the Herero regime, Chief Kutako was sent to Okahandja from Ehuamene together with other young men to go and fight against the Germans. They fought and later he returned to Ehuameno to go and fetch his people and belongings and returned to Okahandja. Now he fought in the battles which took place at Okandjira, Oviombo and at Erindirombahe where he was wounded in the leg. Then he fought at Ohamakari where the fiercest battle occurred and where he was again wounded in the cheek. After this battle the Hereros fled further to the east and fought at Otji-henda in the Waterberg Native Reserve.

Chief Samuel Maharero and some Hereros then fled to Bechuanaland and Kutako and his father returned to the district of Okahandja. Meanwhile the country had been occupied by the Germans. On their way back, his father died and Chief Kutako and some Hereros took his father's corpse with a view to burying it at his former residence at Ehuameno. On reaching Ehuameno they carried the corpse into his own house from which they had fled. It was during the night and Ehuameno had been occupied by the Germans. Some German soldiers were hiding in the houses formerly owned by the Hereros. When the German soldiers heard the voices of people they took arms and fired. The Hereros fled leaving the corpse in the house. Nobody was hit by the bullets and nobody returned to bury the corpse.

His father died on a Sunday. Chief Kutako's elder brother whose name was Samuel Kutako was not present when his father died. Before he died, Chief Kutako's father told Chief Kutako that the German soldiers were using the church buildings as their shelters and that he would pray to God so that the German soldiers should be removed from the churches and to leave the church buildings for the use of the word of God. He also told Hosea to tell his elder brother Samuel that he should continue to preach the word of God among all the Hereros and that Chief Kutako himself will be the witness of this country (South West Africa).

The Germans then sent some Hereros whom they had captured to go and call the other Hereros who were still hiding in the mountains. Chief Kutako was then taken by these Hereros and was brought to Omaruru. His rifle was taken away from him by the Germans and he was put in the concentration camp at Omaruru. He was then released from the concentration camp and was given the task of looking after the horses which belonged to the German soldiers.

One day the Germans were told by a traitor that Hosea was one of the Hereros who started war against the Germans at Okahandja. The Germans decided to kill Hosea while he was looking after the horses in the field. A kitchen maid who had heard that Hosea was going to be killed told Hosea that the Germans had decided to kill him secretly while he was looking after the horses. When Chief Kutako heard of it, he fled and hid in the mountains.

While on the mountains, he learned that the concentration camps were to be abolished [sic] by a German Officer named (something like Assisel Lideques [Assessor von Lindequist]). Chief Kutako then went to Okozongema near Omaruru and there he met some Hereros who had been released from the concentration camps and who were employed by the Germans to call other Hereros back to the towns. He accompanied these Hereros to Omburo in the Omaruru district where he was also employed by the Germans to call the other Hereros back to the towns.

This process of calling back the Hereros from the field lasted for two years from 1905 to 1907.

When the concentration camps completely were demolished Chief Kutako was appointed as a school teacher at Omaruru, which post he held for two years. Chief Kutako then went to Tsumeb where he worked on the mine. His brother Samuel Kutako was also at Tsumeb where he was a clergyman.

While Chief Hosea Kutako was at Tsumeb, rumour was heard that Chief Samuel Maharero who had fled to Bechuanaland was assembling forces in Bechuanaland to recapture South West Africa. Chief Kutako's employer at Tsumeb a Frenchman, heard of this rumour and he feared that Kutako would be captured by the Germans and told him secretly to escape. After Chief Kutako had escaped his brother Samuel was captured. Police were sent after Kutako to arrest him and he was captured and was taken to the Okovakuatjivi's prison where he escaped during the night and lived on the Parasis mountains, Okahupua and Erongo mountains and where he lived on wild fruit. While he was on the mountains the Germans started constructing the Railway line between Swakopmund and Windhoek. He came from the mountains to a small Railway station named Ounguati and board[ed, page torn] a train during the night. He was not discovered and did not pay the train fare. He travelled to Windhoek where he was engaged to work on the railways. He was an ox-wagon driver of the railways.

He also worked on the Railway line to the South of Windhoek as far as Alzbron siding. A German officer named something like Bohr brought him back to Windhoek in 1912. He became a prominent member of the Community. The headman of the Hereros at Windhoek was Gerhard Kamaheke (Kaivaka).

In 1916, Gerhard Kamaheke and Barmenas Zeraua (Kandimbutui) a policeman were against the re-installation of Samuel Maharero as Chief of the Hereros. They were under the impression that the British who defeated the Germans were sent by Chief Samuel Maharero and they thought that he would return to South West Africa to be Chief of the Hereros.

They thought that they would be deposed if Samuel returned to South West Africa. The Hereros became dissatisfied with Gerhard Kamaheke and decided to oust him. They selected Hosea Kutako to replace Gerhard Kamaheke on the understanding that Hosea Kutako would be the Regent pending the return of Chief Samuel Maharero. Gerhard Kamaheke was ousted.

The Germans gave the following places to the Hereros: Augaikas, Furstenwalde and Okahuckajova. They were also given some goats, some of which they bought. When war broke out between the Germans and the allies in 1914, food became scarce in the country. The Germans therefore gave some herd [sic] of cattle to the Hereros. While the war was going on, the Germans took some Herero youngmen [sic] to assist them, but Major Heydebreck did not trust them and planned to kill the Hereros, but he was killed accidentally. By 1915 the Germans had been defeated and South West Africa was occupied by the Union Government forces.

In 1917 Chief Kutako was appointed headman of the Hereros. In 1919 Chief Samuel Maharero of the Hereros who was then in Bechuanaland sent a letter to Hosea Kutako in which he asked him to take care of his people. In 1920 Chief Samuel Maharero sent his son Fredrick Maharero to Hosea to place his hand on Hosea's head as a token of that he had been appointed as the leader of the Hereros.

When South West Africa had been taken over by the Union of South Africa, the government removed the Hereros from the areas which was given to them by the Germans and the following areas were then given to them: Orumbo, Okatumba, Okakurame, Otjiunde, Otjipaha, Ovinjaikiro, Otjimbongona and Scheidos. In 1925 the same Government again drove the Hereros away from the above areas by force and sent them to Aminuis and Epukiro where they are today. The Hereros refused to move. When they refused to move the Government sent police against them. Their houses were burnt and the windmills were taken out. Bombs were dropped in the vicinity in order to frighten them away from the areas. Chief Kutako and some other men were taken to prison at Gobabis where they were kept for two days.

In 1939 when the world war II broke out the government requested Chief Kutako to persuade his people to join the army. Many Herero youngmen [sic] joined the army. His people also raised money for war funds. After the war Chief Kutako was told by the Government to go and survey the northern parts of the territory as the Government had decided to give the southern and central parts of the territory to the white - returned soldiers. On his visit to that area he observed that the area was too small for the entire Herero population. He also found that the region was infested with many wild animals such as snakes, lions, elephants and rhinoceros which would be a danger to the people. Another reason given for their refusal was that if the people went to that region they would become backward as the area was isolated. The survey took place in 1946.

After the war, the African returned soldiers were given some furnishers [furnitures], bicycles and sewing machines an act which he strongly denounced, while the European return soldiers were given farms and money.

In 1946 the Union Government consulted Chief Kutako in connection with the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union of South Africa and he refused the incorporation. The same year he started petitioning the United Nations Organisation a work which he has been doing for 15 years. [until today - 1961]. In 1947 Chief Frederick Maharero and Mr. Tshekedi Khama sent the Rev. Michael Scott to Chief Hosea Kutako to obtain information on conditions in South

West Africa so that he (Rev. M. Scott) might take this information to the United Nations as a petition.

Chief Kutako is still waiting for the United Nations to release his people from the oppressed [sic] Union Government.

Endnotes

1 BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).

2 Sundermeier made use of the biography on Hosea Kutako in his book *Wir aber suchten Gemeinschaft. Kirchwerdung und Kirchentrennung in Südwesafrika* (1973), pp. 111ff., and p. 191,

footnote 78. According to Sundermeier the text was entitled "Life of Chief Hosea Kutako". The copy in BAB PA.7 has no title.

IV Interview Notes¹

On the history and demolition of the Old Location

The following very rough notes on the history of the Old Location in Windhoek, the forced removal of its inhabitants, and on Katutura, seem to have been written down by Israel Goldblatt at various times between 1966 and late 1968, during and shortly after the last days of the Old Location. At that time Goldblatt saw Clemens Kapuuo frequently, as is pointed out in chapter VII of this book. Goldblatt's notes seem to have been written down during (and not after) conversations between the two men, including, perhaps, Hosea Kutako. This explains why Goldblatt moves between the first and the third person, i.e. as someone who is taking down very quickly what is being said, verbatim, or making a summary. The notes are written on loose, unpaginated sheets, and the following order might not necessarily be the correct one; their cryptic nature could suggest various sequences.

1947 – 1948

Namas, Damaras, Hereros, Ovambos

Meetings together in the old location – [Rev] Michael Scott.

Removals to Katutura always in co-operation.

Never any tribal disturbances.

When Mun[icipality] refused to remove refuse we [= the leaders like Kapuuo and the Herero Chief's Council] all provided lorries.²

All the Damara boardmen acted with Kapuuo – and no division among them.

Fair amount of social intercourse with all groups.

Last year when we raised funds to buy lorries to remove refuse from the location, a Damara [was] appointed chairman, [a] Ovambo was secretary, a Nama was treasurer. No Herero.

Amongst Hereros a split

Manubo [?], Mbanderus

Very small minority.

The refusal to leave [for] Katutura was done with the consent of all the people. No single person wanted to move.

The less enlightened people do not think of Apartheid.

But the leaders.

We were influencing them not to go.

They themselves were willing to go.

Health played no part.

The less enlightened were only concerned with the economic side.

Katutura – rent more than 4 Rand per month – for house alone.

Then water close to 5 R

They would have stayed there if they could have retained employment.

Even the unenlightened refused to regard the Govt. as having the right to tell them were to live. Since the mandate was taken away - and even before.

Old Location

Even the Mbanderus did not want to go to Katutura.

After deproclamation and refusal of employment, almost all of the people left.

Being unemployed they could be ordered out to the Reserves.

Although majority went to Katutura, many left for Reserves. Many wanted to go to Reserves but as they had no cattle and could not earn a living they went to Katutura.

As a consequence of departure to Reserves there is a shortage of labour.

Quite a number refused to go to Katutura - between 800 and 1000 families, between 3 and 4000 inhabitants.

Few Damaras, Ovambos and Namas left Windhoek.

After majority had left about 300 to 400 families [remained in the Old Location] ie. after deproclamation

They wanted to show the Gov. that it could not do as it pleased.³

At Katutura now about 4,000 Maengu's [?] people are there.

About 1000-1500 [sic]

About 2-3000 follow Clemens [Kapuuo].

He lives among the Mbanderu.

They are friendly to me [= Kapuuo?].

Mungu [Maengu?] in Epukiro Reserve always was there.

All Clemens' Council left for the reserves except [Rev] Karuaera. Clemens will have to elect a new Committee.

The old Councillors were all appointed by me [= Kapuuo / Kutako ?].

Hosea was pleased there was no bloodshed.

Hosea cannot walk but his mind is clear.

De Wet is changed now - more friendly.

Amon [Riruako?] and his family in one house [in Katutura]. 4 rooms.

They are satisfied - better than in old location.

Men - 2 in a 2 roomed house. Very little electric light.

Sanitary arrangements better. Leaving out the fact that old location was their home and also political questions, we are better off in Katutura. But it was cheaper in old location.

In old location there was no control over the number of inhabitants. Lots of them there who did not belong.

But this cannot happen in Katutura.

17.X.

Ovitoto [:] Some Damaras left. There were not many there. About 27 left in [sic] Reserve.

About 3000 Hereros.

About 15 families left for Welwitchia.

Aminuis [:]. Bechuana and Hereros. 4000 - 5000 Hereros +/- 2000 Bechuanas - expected to go to corridor between Aminuis and Bechuana[land].

Welwitchia [:] old [?] Damara [settlement] from time.

Old Location.

6000 left [the Old Location]

[In margin:] Sept.

300 remained + Kapuuo warned to leave.

Brig. Crous.

Transport to Reserve those who want to go.

Meeting at Municipality

List to be drawn up of those who wanted to leave.

[in margin:] Crous, de Wet, Babber, Mayor, Town Clerk.

Babber offered food , but it was not accepted – the people were too angry.

Brigadier Crous asked Kapuuo to come and see him.

He [Kapuuo] said that he knew me [Goldblatt] well and that we had been together for 5 years. [Goldblatt and Kapuu had met for the first time in late 1961.]

The removal was now in his [Crous] hands.

He would have to take steps to remove the people from location.

It would mean arresting the people.

Putting them in Gaol.

And afterwards they would be loaded on to trucks and would be taken to places outside Windhoek – He [Crous?] was not angry.

Those who were taken out would not be allowed back in Windhoek again.

He [Crous] asked me [Kapuuo] what do you intend to do.

I [Kapuuo] said I wanted to consult my people.

He said OK. Here is my telephone number.

I [Kapuuo] called a meeting.

What worried them leaving was the threat that they would not be allowed to return to Windhoek.

Eventually we [Kapuuo and the remaining Old Location inhabitants] decided to move.

I [Kapuuo] wanted to go to the Reserve and only after the meeting I decided to go to Katutura.

I went to the Reserve Aminuis.

We held a meeting as to whether I should stay.

Some headmen said I should go to Katutura, others not.

My father [Kapuuo's father Clement] is a sick man⁴ and he felt he wanted to be near his doctor Elmau.⁵

He got his store there.

The Govt. spread a rumour that I was misleading my people that I had already booked a house in Katutura.

The first time I went to the Municipality was after I had gone to the reserve.

I then took over a dwelling house and used it as a store.

We used it for 2 month.

The new store. I moved into about 6 Nov. 1968.

I told the people not to be in a hurry to hold meetings.

We must first study the situation.

Before deproclamation, the Govt. had been getting Hereros from all over to stay in Katutura.

They amounted to 100 [deleted] about.

The Herero Boardmen were appointed by the Govt., not elected.

They were not on friendly terms before but now a bit more friendly.

Even the 100 regard me as their leader.

- they come to me [Kapuuo] with their problems.

I have nothing to do with vd Wath but some of the officials there to whom I brought people were friendly towards me.

The Damara are not active.

But majority are opposed to Odendaal Report.

But they are weak and they are falling into line with the Govt.'s plan.

But there are others like Oscar [?] who are opposed to the Govt.

(1) Those who were going to Ovitoto

(2) ditto - Aminuis

(3) ditto Waterberg and Otji... [illegible]

(4) Otjinene, Epukiro and Okonjati

[in the margin:] Meeting at de Wets

Namas went to Gibeon.

All given tickets - Otjimbingue via Karibib.

Also Katutura.

Kapuuo stays until the last person moves.

In the reserves those who have no cattle depend upon relatives.

They were very angry.

Crous saved the situation.

Old location now empty. [after September 1968?]

Munoija⁶ went to Aminuis.

All houses at location bulldozed.

Kapuuo advised them to move, went to Aminuis to report to Hosea. He understood.

He approved in the circumstances.

When the 300 [families] were there they bulldozed all the toilets except one and no water.

Crous stepped in.

Conversation with a Board Member from the Ovitoto Reserve

In the following notes of Israel Goldblatt, the Board Member from the Ovitoto Reserve to the north-east of Windhoek unfortunately remains unknown.⁷

Boardman of Ovitoto Reserve – 67 years. Went to Bechuanaland after 1934.

Left here as a boy but could ride horse. First went to Kuruman and Kimberley. Stayed there until 1934.

Came back from Bechuanaland 1949.

In Ovitoto some have holy fires. Some also have ancestor worship. Today take their sick to the holy fire.

There are witchdoctors today in the reserve. They take the sick to the graves of ancestors.

This is the position to-day.

At the holy fires they pray to the ancestors.

He fled during Herero war. [1904]

Can read and write Herero only.

Have 40 head.

Is a Christian.

Not allowed to have more than 50 large animals including donkeys and horses.

pay £6 for 2nd hand jacket from white man

pay R4 for new shoes

Levy Nganjone

In the following notes, Israel Goldblatt only refers to "N". The personal details he mentions do fit the profile of Levy Nganjone, who is introduced in chapter II of this book.

Herero

N. compiles a Grammar.

He passed St. 6 and took 2 years teaching at Augustineum. He knows English, Afrikaans, German, Herero.

He explains that the Holy Fire is a part of the family rite. They pray at the Fire to their ancestors, on ceremonial occasions like sickness, or marriage.

The Fire is kept going everyday. It is outside the kraal. It is contained within a circle or a rectangle formed of wooden logs on which the family sit.

Next to the fire is a bush – a particular kind. Between the bush and the end of the log there are the ashes which are put there from the fire inside the huts.

The holy fire is not maintained by the detribalised Herero.

But is kept in the reserves.

N. does not believe in the descent from the Omurambungu [Omumborombonga] Tree. This is legend.

The 'Urtracht' drawing which I have is no longer followed by modern Hereros. It is still found in the Kaokoveld.

Kapuuu was elected by the Headmen. He is a cousin of Hosea [Kutako]. Hosea was a christian since childhood.

There is a small body of 100 christians who form S.W.A.P.U. [sic]

Story that is told of the early days of white settlers.

They would come to Kamaharero and want to buy land. How do you buy land? he would ask.

The land belongs to the whole tribe. Then taking a handful of dust he said "Do you mean you want to buy this?"⁸

Chief Kefas Muzuma from the Kaokoveld Reserve

Israel Goldblatt met Chief Kefas Muzuma, in the 1960s an influential chief from the north-eastern part of Namibia who is briefly introduced in chapter II of this book, twice, in 1962 and 1964. In the following notes, Goldblatt again moves between the first and the third person, i.e. as someone who is taking down very quickly what is being said, verbatim, or making a summary.

Kephas

People in Angola sell to Port [Portuguese] for cash or goods.

We in Kaokoveld smuggle our cattle across for goods.

Because there are diseases in Angola once the cattle are there they must be sold.

Kephas owns about 300. I am a rich man.

I have more than Mberiora [Mbirioro Kasaona].

There are many rich people.

The Tjimbas are poor – many.

Majority of Tjimbas still wear old style.

Some of the Tjimbas buy clothes but don't wear it.

Angola same system of headmen.

In Kaoko headmen are elected and Govt. confirms.

In most cases elected in others son succeeds father automatically (the latter among aristocrats).

The old rule has gone (don't know how) that the nephew on mothers' side succeed.

Angola – also a commissioner.

Kaoko headmen don't get paid.

Our chief is Hosea Kutako.

On Angola side I don't know whom they regard as their chief.

Movement across Cunene by many.

People from Angola come across to buy cattle.

Treatment by Port. [Portuguese] is worse than Kaokoveld – they are beaten and flee to Kaoko.

They are still there.

The Angolans would. prefer to live in Kaoko. Many have fled from Angola.

I think there are more Hereros in Angola than in Kaoko.
Big area occupied in Angola stretches to sea.

There are Hereros at Mossamedes. There are many tribes on other side.

There is a lot of movement between Ovambos & Hereros – get on well.
No permits required.
There is a fence with gates.
These are to prevent cattle but not people.
No permits required for Ovamboland by anyone.

Endnotes

- 1 All interview and conversation notes are from documents in BAB, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).
- 2 On this, see also Winter (1977), p.57.
- 3 Compare all this to the description of the demolition of the Old Location in 1968 by Winter (1977), p.58f.
- 4 Kapuuo's father died shortly afterwards (in 1967/68), and his funeral still took place in the Old Location before its demolition in 1968 and was attended by hundreds of mourners. See the vivid description by Bishop Winter (1977), p.50f.
- 5 Both Clemens Kapuuo and his father Clement were patients of Dr Helmut Elmau, physician, and once or twice, as Elmau recalled in a conversation with Dag Henrichsen, 26.8.2006,. Kapuuo also brought Hosea Kutako for "medical check-ups" to Elmau's practice. Elmau, born in 1913 in Windhoek and trained in Germany, had opened his medical practice in Windhoek in 1950. Kapuuo in particular came regularly, as he tended to be overweight.
- 6 According to Rev Karuacra, Munoiija or Mooja was a member of the Herero Chief's Council.
- 7 On the history of the Reserve see Wagner (1957), pp.21ff.
- 8 This wellknown story which refers to the crucial issue of colonial land seizure is contextualised within Herero politics by Henrichsen (2010).

V **The Kasaona Case: Petition and Letter from Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi**

The following United Nations documents do not form part of Israel Goldblatt's archives.¹ They relate to the Kasaona case of 1962, which involved Goldblatt as legal representative of the Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi. (See chapters II and IV of this book.)

Petition, by letter dated 23 August 1961, and enclosures from Chief Hosea Kutako and Chief Samuel Witbooi, South West Africa Peoples Organization, Windhoek, South West Africa, to the UN Secretary-General:

The situation in South West Africa is grave and can lead to war. We are convinced that only United Nations intervention will save the situation. A young man named Mbirijoro Uerimunga was taken by the Superintendent Mr. Van Zyl, at Ohopuho, Okaokoveld Native Reserve. His whereabouts is not known. He must have been sold or murdered by the Superintendent. We ask the United Nations to tell the South African Republic to investigate the matter and report to the United Nations immediately.

Fear: Africans are living in a state of fear as a result of the presence of troops from the South African Republic, threatening forcible removals, deportations and police raids. Armed troops are from time to time also stationed in Aminius Native Reserve and the Africans are not told what the troops are brought for. Police Brutality; Africans are cruelly treated and beaten up by the police. African homes are raided day and night, and African men and women are made to stand sometimes naked, while their homes are being searched. These police raids take place at inconvenient hours sometimes when Africans are in beds. An armed police force was sent to the Herero Tribal Meeting at Otjinene Native Reserve on the 2nd August 1961, and questioned the leaders there what the meeting was about. The presence of this police force was one of the reasons why chief Hosea Kutako called off the meeting. Journalists: Foreign journalists are not allowed to interview non-whites unless they are accompanied by Government officials. Their rooms in the hotels are searched and their documents are seized by the police. The aim is to prevent information on conditions in the territory from reaching the outside world.

Killing of Africans: Early this year we reported to the United Nations about Africans who were killed by Europeans. Up to now the Europeans who killed the Africans have not yet been charged. 17 Innocent Africans charged: Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution ordering the South African Republic to punish the officials and the police who were responsible for the death of 12 Africans and wounding more than 40 Africans on the 10th December, 1959. The South African Republic instead of punishing these officials, charged 17 innocent Africans and they are now being tried. The maintenance of the orphans, widows and the wounded as a result of the shooting by the police and troops is being borne by the Africans themselves. £ 500 has been raised and distributed among them. Money for the defence of those who are being tried is also borne by the Africans themselves. £ 300 so far has been raised and paid for the defence of the accused.

Africans disposed of their lands: Some lands in the Okaokoveld Native Reserve which originally belonged to the Africans have been taken away from them and have been sold to European farmers and some of them (lands) have been reserved for European settlements. If African livestock have strayed into these lands, such livestock are shot by the police. Owners of these animals are not compensated for the loss of their stock. The inhabitants asked for the return of their lands but the Government refuses. The inhabitants of the Aminuis Native Reserve have been disposed of their land - Corridor between Aminuis Native Reserve and Bechuanaland Protectorates and it has been given to European farmers. The Europeans who live in the Corridor shoot the livestock of the Africans who stray into the corridor. They sometimes drive the livestock into the kraals and do not give them water with the result that they die of starvation. They do not inform the owners that their livestock is in the corridor and that they should come and fetch them. Some land has been taken away from the Waterberg East Native Reserve and has been sold to European farmers. Some land has also been taken away from the Otjituuo Native Reserve and has been sold to European farmers.

Restrictions of Movements: The pass laws which restrict the movements of Africans have been intensified. An African is not allowed to travel from one place to another unless he is in possession of a pass (Travelling Pass) which is very difficult to obtain. An African has to have more than nine different passes. They are: (a) Travelling Pass (b) Night Pass (c) Service Contract Pass (d) Hut Tax Pass (e) Burial Pass (f) Pass to seek work (g) Visitors Permit (h) Permit to be in the proclaimed area for the purpose other than seeking work (i) Certificate of Registration. These many passes have placed the Africans on the level of slaves. Divide and Rule: The Government creates disunity among the African tribes by preventing them from holding joint meetings although they have common problems.

Education: The standard of Education for Africans is extremely low. In addition to the education being low the schools for Africans are far too few. The result is that about 80 per cent of African children of school going age do not attend schools. To make matters worse the Government decided to introduce Bantu Education South West Africa under another name, "Geamendeerde Leerplan" - Amended Syllabus which object it is to teach the Africans from the childhood that they are inferior to Europeans. There are no universities and technical schools. A disappointing thing is that Africans are not allowed to leave the country for further studies. There are no schools of any kind in the Okaokoveld Native Reserve.²

Letter dated 28 June 1962 from Chief Hosea Kutako and Chief Samuel Witbooi, Windhoek, South West Africa, to Mr. George Houser, American Committee on Africa:

Will you please be so kind as to raise funds for a case against me and Chief Samuel Witbooi as you will see from the enclosed newspaper cutting. Living conditions in South West Africa are very bad especially for the African people as a result of the foot and mouth disease which is prevailing in South West Africa at the present time, and it is therefore difficult to raise funds here.

Mr Mbirijoro Kausana was loaded on a vehicle by Mr Barend van Zyl then Superintendent of Ohopoho Native Reserve, South West Africa and the vehicle was driven away. His whereabouts were not known for three years. His father asked me to investigate where his son was. We were under the impression that the man was either sold or murdered by the Superintendent. I therefore sent a petition to the United Nations asking that the South African Government be demanded to investigate where the man was. Mr Kausana was brought back to South West Africa recently by the Authorities from Angola where he was in jail but according to information

he sent me from Ohopoho he was never tried in court. We hope he will be brought to court in Windhoek at the trial.

(Signed): Hosea Kutako Samuel Witbooi

P.S.

I have just received summons that the case will be heard in the Supreme Court on the 1st August, 1962.

Enclosure:

Extract from "The Windhoek Advertiser", 27 June 1962

*Kutako and Witbooi sued for libel by Native Commissioner
Former Kaokoveld Commissioner Sues Chiefs for R10,000*

Hosea Kutako, the 92-year-old Herero Chief and a leading personality of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), and Samuel Witbooi, Nama Chief of Kranzplatz (Gibeon) were yesterday issued with civil summonses in which R10,000 is claimed from them for alleged libel. The plaintiff is Mr Barend Johannes van Zyl, an administrative officer of the Department of Bantu Affairs at Taung (Cape Province) and formerly of Ohopoho in the Kaokoveld where he was a Native commissioner. Reason: The claims against Witbooi and Kutako are a sequel to a statement made last year by the two Chiefs.

The wording in the summonses reads: "An amount of R10,000 is claimed for damages suffered as a result of libellous and false allegations that were made to the effect that one Mbiriora Kausana had been sold into slavery or murdered by Bantu Commissioner Mr van Zyl of the Kaokoveld. "These allegations were also made to the editors of the "Allgemeine Zeitung" and "Die Suidwes-Afrikaner. " Messrs. G.J. Muller and Kie., are the firm of attorneys for the plaintiff.

Jailed: The man alleged to have been killed or sold into slavery to the Portuguese authorities, is at present in the Sesfontein Reserve. Following the allegation it was claimed that Kausana was serving a jail sentence in Angola for illicit diamond trading. When the two members of the United Nations South West Africa Committee were visiting the Territory [in May 1962], Kausana was presented to them. Kausana and his father had a lengthy talk with the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Committee, Mr Carpio and Dr. de Alva.³

Endnotes

1 Thanks to Werner Hillebrecht (NAN) for providing copies of the following documents.

2 From: UN Document A/AC.73/4, 30.Oct.1961. Petitions and communications relating to South West Africa dealt with by the Committee on South West Africa in its report on conditions in the territory submitted to the General Assembly at

its 16th session.

3 From: UN Document No.62-20905. Report of the Special Committee for South West Africa: Written petitions and communications received by the Special Committee. UN General Assembly. Annex XII. 20.Sep.1962.

Abbreviations

AACRLS	Archives of the Anti-Colonial Resistance and the Liberation Struggle
A.G.	Attorney General
AMEC	African Methodist Episcopal Church
Ass.Nat.Com	Assistant Native Commissioner
AZ	Allgemeine Zeitung
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BAB	Basler Afrika Bibliographien
Brig.	Brigadier
c	circa
CANU	Caprivi African National Union
Capt.	Captain
Cert.	Certificate
Ch.Nat.Com.	Chief Native Commissioner
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
dd	dated
Depart.	Department
Dir.	Director
Ed.	Education
esp.	especially
Ex.Co.	Executive Committee
ff.	following
Govt.	Government
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICS	Institute of Commonwealth Studies
Info.	information
J.	Judge
J.C.	Junior Certificate
KC	King's Counsel
Lieut.	Lieutenant
LL.B.	Bachelor of Law
Ltd.	Limited
MP	Member of Parliament
Ms.	Manuscript
Mun.	Municipality
NAN	National Archives of Namibia
Nat.Aff.	Native Affairs
Nat.Com.	Native Commissioner
n.d.	no date
No	Number
NP	National Party
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organisation
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organisation
Ord.	Ordinance
p.	page
PA	Personenarchiv
para.	paragraph
pers.comm.	personal communication

PMC	Permanent Mandates Commission
Port.	Portuguese
pp.	pages
Pres.	President
Proc.	Proclamation
Q.C.	Queen's Counsel
R	Rand
Rev	Reverend
Rh.	Rhenish
RI	Republican Intelligence
R v	Rex versus
S.A.	South Africa
SALJ	The South African Law Journal
SB	Security Branch
Sec.	Secretary
s	shillings
SWA	South West Africa
SWANIO	South West Africa National Independence Organisation
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
SWN	South West News
SWP	South West Party
UKL	University of Kansas Libraries
UN	United Nations Organisation
UNA	United Nations Association
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNSWP	United National South West Party
USA	United States of America
Vet.	Veterinary
VIP	Very Important People
Vol(s)	volume(s)
VW	Volkswagen
WA	Windhoek Advertiser
WFUNA	World Federation of United Nations Associations

Map and Illustrations

Efforts were made to trace the copyright holders of the following illustrations. We apologise for any incomplete or incorrect acknowledgement.

Map

South West Africa during apartheid. Adapted from the so-called Odendaal Report. Republic of South Africa: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs 1962-1963*. R.P. No. 12/1964, Fig.9

Illustrations

Cover photograph: Private collection Karen Marshall.

Frontispiece: Private collection Naomi Jacobson.

Introduction

All photographs are from the private collections of Naomi Jacobson and Karen Marshall.

Page from Israel Goldblatt's notes: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).

Chapter 1

Old Location: Photographer Dieter Hinrichs (Munich), Dieter Hinrichs Collection.

Fighting Talk: From the African Studies Library, University of Cape Town.

South West News (Windhoek), No 4, 25 June 1960. See Henrichsen (1997).

Ferdinand Lempp: Photographer Ingrid Lempp. Private collection Ingrid Lempp.

Hans Ludwig Meyer: Photographer unknown. Private collection Ute Meyer.

Israel Goldblatt: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives.

Ernst Rudolf Scherz: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: S67_0038.

Irmhild and Georg Gebhardt: Photographer unknown. Private collection Tilman Gebhardt.

Herero Chief's Council: Photographer: Desiderius Kukuri. Private collection Rev Bartholomews Karuaera.

South West News (Windhoek), No 6, 23 July 1960. See Henrichsen (1997).

Ruth First: Newspaper cutting from Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7)

Chapter II

Old Location politicians: Photographer unknown. Private collection Rev Bartholomews Karuaera.

Israel Goldblatt: Photographer unknown. Private collection Tilman Gebhardt.

Robert Mize: Photographer unknown. Published in the newsletter of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (New York), Michaelmas 1968, p.4.

Catholic cathedral: Photographer unknown. Published in N. Mossolow: *Windhoek heute/today*. Windhoek, c.1967.

Sketches by Paul Sackmann: Private collection Naomi Jacobson.

Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer: Kurt Dahlmann. Photo Archives Allgemeine Zeitung (Windhoek).

Levy Nganjone: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: S55_0015.

Herero Chief's Council: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: S55_0006.

Clemens Kapuuo's shop: Photographer unknown. Original caption: "Clemens Kapuuo's store. Kapuuo second from left". National Archives of Namibia, Photo Collection 1239.

Rev Karuaera and Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer probably Kurt Dahlmann. Published in *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Windhoek), No 139, 23 July 1970, p.1. Original caption: "Clemens Kapuuo (links) und Rev. B. G. Karuaera beim gemeinsamen Studium des Odendaal-Planes unmittelbar nach dessen Veröffentlichung. Die seinerzeit unzertrennlichen Freunde sind heute scharfe Gegner geworden."

Rev. Karuaera and Mburumba Kerina: Photographer unknown. Private collection Rev Bartholomews Karuaera.

Hosea Kutako: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: S55_0003.

Herero Chief's Council: Photographer: Anneliese Scherz. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: S55_0001.

Hosea Kutako and Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer: Hans or Trudy Jenny. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: Hans & Trudy Jenny collection.

Frederick ('Frank') McWilliam: Newspaper cutting without reference. Private collection Naomi Jacobson.

Bust of Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer: Marc Eggiman. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives.

Naomi Jacobson: Photographer: Giorgio Miescher. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives.

Samuel Witbooi: Photographer: Etienne du Pisani. Private collection Andre du Pisani.

Poster "The 26th of August", issued by SWAPO, Dar-es-Salaam, c.1969, printed by National Printing Co.Ltd, Dar-es-Salaam, monochrome offset, 905x1105mm. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Poster Collection X 2786.

Members of the Herero Chief's Council: Photographer: Hans or Trudy Jenny. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: Hans & Trudy Jenny collection.

Hosea Kutako: Photographer: Hans or Trudy Jenny. Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Photo Archives: Hans & Trudy Jenny collection.

Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer unknown. Published in *Seek*, July 1978, p.3.

Clemens Kapuuo's letter to Israel Goldblatt: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).

Chapter III

Bust of Hosea Kutako: Photographer unknown. Private collection Naomi Jacobson.

Chapter IV

Old Location 1959/1960: All photographs by Dieter Hinrichs (Munich), Dieter Hinrichs Collection.

Katutura January 1960 and December 1959: Both photographs by Dieter Hinrichs (Munich), Dieter Hinrichs Collection.

Katutura c 1963. Photographer: Ilse Steinhoff. Published in Ilse Steinhoff: "Wohin geht Südwestafrika?" In *Kosmos. Die Zeitschrift der Kosmos-Gesellschaft*, No 7, July 1964, p.345.

Brendan Simbwaye's letter to Israel Goldblatt: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Personenarchiv Israel Goldblatt (PA.7).

Israel Goldblatt: Photographer unknown. Private collection Naomi Jacobson.

Chapter V

Israel Goldblatt and Karen Blum: Photographer unknown. Private collection Karen Marshall.

Kaiserstreet, Windhoek: Photographer: Alice Mertens. Published in Alice Mertens: *South West Africa and its indigenous peoples*. London, 1966, plate No 23.

Chapter VI

Newspaper article taken from South West News (Windhoek), No 1, 5 March 1960, p.3. See Henrichsen (1997), p.86f. for a full translation.

Hosea Kutako: Photographer: Kurt Dahlmann. Published in *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Windhoek), 20.7.1970. According to Piet Swanepoel (in an e-mail to Dag Henrichsen, 15.3.2008) Kurt Dahlmann took the photograph on 30 July 1967 and provided him with a copy.

Clemens Kapuuo: Photographer: Probably Irmhild Gebhardt. Private collection Tilman Gebhardt.

Chapter VII

Jariretundu Kozonguizi: Photographer unknown. Included in Kurt Dahlmann (n.d.).

Randolph Vigne: Photographer unknown. Private collection Randolph Vigne.

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1 Ernst Rudolf Scherz

Südwestafrika Jahresberichte 1962–1979 Namibia (2004)

Ursprünglich für Freunde und Bekannte verfasst, bieten die Jahresberichte intensive Schilderungen von Reisen und Forschungen, Land und Leuten und von den «Wanderungen zwischen zwei Welten», Namibia und Deutschland.

Wer sich für Felsbilder interessiert, erfährt von den Mühen und Freuden der Feldarbeit; wem die politische Situation im südlichen Afrika am Herzen liegt, sieht den Umschwung der 1960er und 1970er Jahre, reflektiert in mancherlei Geschichten und Annotationen; wer über das Alter schon nachgedacht hat, erlebt ein Beispiel glückhaften Reifens. Arbeit, Politik und Menschenschicksal erscheinen eingebettet in den ewigen Rhythmus der Jahreszeiten, sei es im Wüstenklima der Namib, sei es in der norddeutschen Landschaft, eingebettet aber auch in der Sicherheit starker zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen.

2 Ellen Ndeshi Namhila

Kaxumba kaNdola. Man and Myth. The Biography of a Barefoot Soldier (2005)

Kaxumba kaNdola, alias Eliaser Tuhadeleni, is well remembered in Namibia for his personal courage, which made him larger than life itself. A political activist and founding member of SWAPO, he spoke up for the rights of his people.

Ellen Namhila takes us to northern Namibia during the Apartheid era and follows Eliaser Tuhadeleni as a leader of the early nationalist movement, threatened by the South African government and eventually sentenced to imprisonment on Robben Island. She introduces us to the memories of Kaxumba's mother, his wife and children, neighbours, nurses and teachers. And she forces us to think about the morals of a society under occupation.

3 Ernst Rudolf Scherz

Südwester Geschichten am Lagerfeuer erzählt (2005)

«An manchem gemütlichen Abend, auf der Veranda, am Kamin, am Lagerfeuer, hörte ich eine Fülle von Geschichten und Anekdoten. Manches davon – wie wenig es eigentlich – blieb in meinem Gedächtnis haften. Ich erzählte sie oft, vor allem auch am Lagerfeuer meiner vielen Safaris.»

314 Geschichten hat Ernst Rudolf Scherz zusammengetragen, und erzählt in diesem Band von Diamanten und Gold, von Elefanten, Löwen, Leoparden und Geparden, von seltsamen Käuzen, gelehrten Leuten und Prominenz, von Afrikanern und Europäern, kurz, von Land und Leuten und «was mir so einfällt».



4 Ursula Trüper

The Invisible Woman. Zara Schmelen. African Mission Assistant at the Cape and in Namaland (2006)

Africa in 1814: a 36-year-old German missionary exploring what is now southern Namibia marries the 20-year-old Zara, a Nama woman, whom he had baptized a few months previously. She helps him with translations and in transcribing her language into a written form, bears him four children, and dies in 1831.

Those are the bare bones of a story that Ursula Trüper has fleshed out into this fascinating account about the African woman and her German husband, the missionary Johann Hinrich Schmelen. He is recognized today as a pioneer in the study of Khoekhoekowab, the Nama language. His wife Zara and her contributions, on the other hand, are rarely mentioned, let alone acknowledged. This book rectifies that neglect and makes an important contribution to the steadily growing literature on the role of African women in African history.

5 Hans Buser erzählt

Als Schweizer Kaufmann in Ghana (2009)

Hautnah hat der Schweizer Kaufmann Hans Buser die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Extreme im noch jungen Ghana erlebt. Scharfe Beobachtungen, viel Sachkenntnis und Humor charakterisieren seine Geschichten und Erinnerungen an die turbulenten Jahre von 1956 bis 1965. Entstanden ist ein persönliches Buch, das afrikanische Erfahrungen vermittelt.

Hans Buser, 1934 in Sissach (Baselland) geboren, reiste erstmals 1956 als Angestellter der Basler Union Trading Company nach Westafrika. Der erfolgreiche Auto- und Maschinenhändler befreundete sich mit zahlreichen Menschen, von einfachen Hausangestellten bis zu jenen Politikern, die Ghana unter Präsident Kwame Nkrumah in die Unabhängigkeit führten.

6 Hans Buser

In Ghana at Independence. Stories of a Swiss Salesman (2010)

The Swiss salesman, Hans Buser, experienced at close quarters the political, social and economic ups and downs of a young Ghana in the period immediately following independence. His stories and reminiscences of those turbulent years between 1956 and 1965 are characterised by sharp observation, insight and humour. Together they create a book that conveys both a personal but also historically informative account.

Hans Buser was born in Switzerland in 1934. In 1956 he made his first trip to Africa as an employee of the Basel Union Trading Company. A successful salesman of automobiles and machinery and a European lacking in racial prejudices, he made numerous friends among his African colleagues and household staff, as well as in the circle of politicians who had led the country to independence under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah.

Windhoek in the early 1960s: the 34-year-old politician Clemens Kapuuu knocks at the door of the senior advocate Israel Goldblatt to solicit advice regarding the myriad of difficulties encountered by Africans daily under the apartheid regime. An unusual relationship and friendship develops, one that transcends the racial divide in this South African-governed Territory and will last for nearly 10 years.

Meeting in Goldblatt's chambers, at his home and in the Old Location, other participants in the consultations included the veteran politician Chief Hosea Kutako and a group of younger nationalists, among them Rev. Bartholomews Karuaera and Levy Nganjone. Through Kapuuu, Goldblatt also met Kaptein Samuel Witbooi and counselled the long-term prisoner from Caprivi, Brendan Simbwaye.

Israel Goldblatt's notes on these meetings were discovered after his death and form the core of this book. They are complemented by additional biographical information about his interlocutors, and annotations that place his notes in their historical and political context.

Illustrated with many photographs, this publication pays tribute to Israel Goldblatt and the Namibian nationalists who attempted to build bridges where apartheid entrenched racism and suspicion.

"This was my first meeting with Hosea Kutako. He is about 92. Massive figure – massive personality ... A remarkable man. He took out a cigarette packet while we were discussing and I offered him a cigar. He accepted it and when it went out during the consultation he simply held it unostentatiously. When I noticed it, I lit it for him and he indicated his appreciation. His manners, excellent. No attempt to impose his leadership on me."

Israel Goldblatt, 30 July 1962

